# OLIVER CROMWELL'S

# LETTERS AND SPEECHES:

WITH ELUCIDATIONS.

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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# OLIVER CROMWELL'S

# LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

## PART EIGHTH.

### FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1654.

### LETTERS CXCII.—CXCV.

THE 3d of September ever since Worcester Battle has been kept as a Day of Thanksgiving; commemorative of the mercy at Dunbar in 1650, and of the crowning-mercy which followed next year;—a memorable day for the Commonwealth of England. By Article Seventh of the Instrument of Government, it is now farther provided that a Parliament shall meet on that auspicious Anniversary when it next comes round. September 3d, 1654, then shall the First Protectorate Parliament meet; successive Parliaments, one at least every Three years, are to follow, but this shall be the First. Not to be dissolved, or prorogued, for at least Five months. Free Parliament of Four-hundred; for England Three-hundred-and-forty, for Scotland Thirty, for Ireland Thirty; fairly chosen by election of the

People, according to rules anxiously constitutional, laid down in that same Instrument,—which we do not dwell upon here. Smaller Boroughs are excluded; among Counties and larger Boroughs is a more equable division of representatives according to their population: nobody to vote that has not some clearly visible property to the value of Two-hundred Pounds; but all that have can vote, and can be voted for,—except, of course, all such as have appeared against the Parliament in any of these Wars 'since the First of January 1642,' and 'not since given signal testimony' of their repenting that step. To appearance, a very reasonable Reform Bill;—understood to be substantially the same with that invaluable measure once nearly completed by the Rump: only with this essential difference, That the Rump Members are not now to sit by nature and without election; not now to decide, they, in case of extremity, Thou shalt sit, Thou shalt not sit;—others than they will now decide that, in cases of extremity. How this Parliament, in its Five-months Session, will welcome the new Protector and Protectorate is naturally the grand question during those Nine or Ten Months that intervene.

A question for all Englishmen; and most of all for Oliver Protector;—who however, as we can perceive, does not allow it to overawe him very much; but diligently doing this day the day's duties, hopes he may find, as God has often favoured him to do, some good solution for the morrow, whatsoever the morrow please to be. A man much apt to be overawed by any question that is smaller than Eternity, or by any danger that is lower than God's Displeasure, would not suit well in Oliver's place at present! Perhaps no more perilous place, that I know clearly of, was ever deliberately accepted by a man. 'The post of honour,'—the post of terror and of danger and forlorn-hope: this man has all along been used to occupy such.

To see a little what kind of England it was, and what kind of incipient Protectorate it was, take, as usual, the following small and few fractions of Authenticity, of various complexion, fished from the doubtful slumber-lakes and dust-vortexes, and hang them out at their places in the void night of things. They are not very luminous; but if they were well let alone, and the positively tenebrific were well forgotten, they might assist our imaginations in some slight measure.

*Sunday 18th December* 1653. A certain loud-tongued loud-

minded Mr. Feak, of Anabaptist-Leveller persuasion, with a Colleague, seemingly Welsh, named Powel, have a Preaching-Establishment, this good while past, in Blackfriars; a Preaching-Establishment every Sunday, which on Monday Evening becomes a National-Charter Convention as we should now call it: there Feak, Powel and Company are in the habit of vomiting forth from their own inner-man, into other inner-men greedy of such pabulum, a very flamy fuliginous set of doctrines,—such as the human mind, superadding Anabaptistry to Sansculottism, can make some attempt to conceive. Sunday the 18th, which is two days after the Lord Protector's Installation, this Feak-Powel Meeting was unusually large; the Feak-Powel inner-man unusually charged. Elements of soot and fire really copious; fuliginous-flamy in a very high degree! At a time, too, when all Doctrine does not satisfy itself with spouting, but longs to become instant Action. 'Go and tell your Protector,' said the Anabaptist Prophet, That he has deceived the Lord's People; 'that he is a perjured villain,'—'will not reign long,' or I am deceived; 'will end worse than the last Protector did,' Protector Somerset who died on the scaffold, or the tyrant Crooked Richard himself! Say, I said it!—A very foul chimney indeed, here got on fire. And 'Major-General Harrison, the most 'eminent man of the Anabaptist Party, being consulted whether 'he would own the new Protectoral Government, answered 'frankly, No;'—was thereupon ordered to retire home to Staffordshire, and keep quiet.[1]

Does the reader bethink him of those old Leveller Corporals at Burford, and Diggers at St. George's Hill five years ago; of Quakerisms, Calvinistic Sansculottisms, and one of the strangest Spiritual Developments ever seen in any country? The reader sees here one foul chimney on fire, the Feak-Powel chimney in Blackfriars; and must consider for himself what masses of combustible material, noble fuel and base soot and smoky explosive fire-damp, in the general English Household it communicates with! Republicans Proper, of the Long Parliament; Republican Fifth-Monarchists of the Little Parliament; the solid Ludlows, the fervent Harrisons: from Harry Vane down to Christopher Feak, all manner of Republicans find Cromwell unforgivable. To the Harrison-and-Feak species Kingship in every sort, and government of man by man, is carnal, expressly

[1] Thurloe, i. 641;—442, 591, 621.

contrary to various Gospel Scriptures. Very horrible for a man to think of governing men ;—whether he ought even to govern cattle, and drive them to field and to needful penfold, 'except in the way of love and persuasion,' seems doubtful to me! But fancy a Reign of Christ and his Saints; Christ and his Saints just about to come,—had not Oliver Cromwell stept in and prevented it! The reader discerns combustibilities enough; conflagrations, plots, stubborn disaffections and confusions, on the Republican and Republican-Anabaptist side of things. It is the first Plot-department, which my Lord Protector will have to deal with, all his life long. This he must wisely damp-down, as he may. Wisely: for he knows what is noble in the matter, and what is base in it; and would not sweep the fuel and the soot both out of doors at once.

*Tuesday 14th February* 1653-4. 'At the Ship-Tavern in the Old Bailey, kept by Mr. Thomas Amps,' we come upon the second life-long Plot-department: Eleven truculent, rather threadbare persons, sitting over small drink there, on the Tuesday night, considering how the Protector might be assassinated. Poor broken Royalist men; payless Old-Captains, most of them, or suchlike; with their steeple-hats worn very brown, and jack-boots slit,—and projects that cannot be executed. Mr. Amps knows nothing of them, except that they came to him to drink; nor do we. Probe them with questions; clap them in the Tower for a while:[2] Guilty, poor knaves; but not worth hanging: —disappear again into the general mass of Royalist Plotting, and ferment there.

The Royalists have lain quiet ever since Worcester; waiting what issue matters would take. Dangerous to meddle with a Rump Parliament, or other steadily regimented thing; safer if you can find it fallen out of rank; hopefulest of all, when it collects itself into a Single Head. The Royalists judge, with some reason, that if they could kill Oliver Protector, this Commonwealth were much endangered. In these Easter weeks too, or Whitsun weeks, there comes 'from our Court' (Charles Stuart's Court) 'at Paris,' great encouragement to all men of spirit in straitened circumstances. A Royal Proclamation "By the King," drawn up, say some, by Secretary Clarendon; setting forth that 'Whereas a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, has usurped our throne,' much to our

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 135).

and other people's inconvenience, whosoever will kill the said mechanic fellow 'by sword, pistol or poison,' shall have 500*l.* a-year settled upon him, with colonelcies in our Army, and other rewards suitable, and be a made man,—'on the word and faith of a Christian King.'[3] A Proclamation which cannot be circulated except in secret; but is well worth reading by all loyal men. And so Royalist Plots also succeed one another, thick and threefold through Oliver's whole life;—but cannot take effect. Vain for a Christian King and his cunningest Chancellors to summon all the Sinners of the Earth, and whatsoever of necessitous Truculent-Flunkyism there may be, and to bid, in the name of Heaven and of Another place, for the Head of Oliver Cromwell: once for all, they cannot have it, that Head of Cromwell;—not till *he* has entirely done with it, and can make them welcome to their benefit from it! We shall come upon these Royalist Plots, Rebellion Plots and Assassin Plots, in the order of time; and have to mention them, though with brevity. Oliver Protector, I suppose, understands and understood his Protectorship moderately well, and what Plots and other Hydra-coils were inseparable from it; and contrives to deal with these too, like a conscientious man, and not like a hungry slave.

Secretary Thurloe, once St. John's Secretary in Holland, has come now, ever since the Little-Parliament time, into decided action as Oliver's Secretary, or the State Secretary; one of the expertest Secretaries, in the real meaning of the word Secretary, any State or working King could have. He deals with all these Plots; it is part of his function, supervised by his Chief. Mr. John Milton, we all lament to know, has fallen blind in the Public Service; lives now in Bird-cage Walk, still doing a little when called upon; bating no jot of heart or hope. Mr. Milton's notion is, That this Protectorate of his Highness Oliver was a thing called for by the Necessities and the Everlasting Laws; and that his Highness ought now to quit himself like a Christian Hero in it, as in other smaller things he has been used to do.[4]

*March 20th*, 1653-4. By the Instrument of Government, the Lord Protector with his Council,[5] till once the First Parlia-

[3] Thurloe, ii. 248. 'Given at Paris, 3d May (23d April by old style) 1654.'

[4] *Defensio Secunda.*

[5] Fifteen in number, which he may enlarge to Twenty-one, if he see good. Not removable any of them, except by himself with advice of the rest. A very remarkable

ment were got together, was empowered not only to raise moneys for the needful supplies, but also 'to make Laws and Ordinances for the peace and welfare of these Nations;' which latter faculty he is by no means slack to exercise. Of his 'Sixty Ordinances' passed in this manner before the Parliament met, which are well approved of by good judges, we cannot here afford to say much: but there is one bearing date as above, which must not be omitted. First Ordinance relating to the Settlement of a Gospel Ministry in this Nation; Ordinance of immense interest to Puritan England at that time. An object which has long been on the anvil, this same 'Settlement;' much laboured at, and striven for, ever since the Long Parliament began: and still, as all confess, no tolerable result has been attained. Yet is it not the greatest object; properly the soul of all these struggles and confused wrestlings and battlings, since we first met here? For the thing men are taught, or get to *believe*, that is the thing they will infallibly *do;* the kind of 'Gospel' you settle, kind of 'Ministry' you settle, or do not settle, the root of all is there! Let us see what the Lord Protector can accomplish in this business.

Episcopacy being put down, and Presbytery not set up, and Church-Government for years past being all a Church-Anarchy, the business is somewhat difficult to deal with. The Lord Protector, as we find, takes it up in simplicity and integrity, intent upon the real heart or practical outcome of it; and makes a rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen Men, the acknowledged Flower of English Puritanism, are nominated by this Ordinance of the 20th of March,[6] nominated a Supreme Commission for the Trial of Public Preachers. Any person pretending to hold a Church-living, or levy tithes or clergy-dues

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Majesty's Ministry;—of which, for its own sake and the Majesty's, take this List, as it stood in 1654:

Philip Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother); Fleetwood; Lambert; Montague (of Hinchinbrook); Desborow (Protector's Brother-in-law); Ashley Cooper (Earl of Shaftesbury afterwards); Walter Strickland (Member for Minehead in the Long Parliament, once Ambassador in Holland); Colonel Henry Lawrence (for Westmoreland in the Long Parliament, of whom we have transiently heard,—became *President* of the Council); Mayor (of Hursley); Francis Rouse (our old friend); pious old Major-General Skippon; Colonels Philip Jones and Sydenham, Sirs Gilbert Pickering and Charles Wolseley, of whom my readers do not know much. Fifteen Councillors in all. To whom Nathaniel Fiennes (son of Lord Say and Sele) was afterwards added; with the Earl of Mulgrave; and another, Colonel Mackworth, who soon died (*Thurloe*, iii. 581). Thurloe is Secretary; and blind Milton, now with assistants, is Latin Secretary.

[6] Scobell, ii. 279-80.

in England, has first to be tried and approved by these men. Thirty-eight, as Scobell teaches us: nine are Laymen, our friend old Francis Rouse at the head of them; twenty-nine are Clergy. His Highness, we find, has not much inquired of what Sect they are; has known them to be Independents, to be Presbyterians, one or two of them to be even Anabaptists;—has been careful only of one characteristic, That they were men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them. Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, Marshall, Manton, and others not yet quite unknown to men, were among these Clerical *Triers:* the acknowledged Flower of Spiritual England at that time; and intent, as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught to England.

This is the First branch or limb of Oliver's scheme for Church-Government, this Ordinance of the 20th March 1653-4. A second, which completes what little he could do in the matter at present, developed itself in August following. By this August Ordinance,[7] a Body of Commissioners, distinguished Puritan Gentry, distinguished Puritan Clergy, are nominated in all Counties of England, from Fifteen to Thirty in each County; who are to inquire into 'scandalous, ignorant, insufficient,' and otherwise deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel; to be a tribunal for judging, for detecting, ejecting them (only in case of ejection, if they have wives, let some small modicum of living be allowed them): and to sit there, judging and sifting, till gradually all is sifted clean, and can be kept clean. This is the Second branch of Oliver's form of Church-Government: this, with the other Ordinance, makes at last a kind of practicable Ecclesiastical Arrangement for England.

A very republican arrangement, such as could be made on the sudden; contains in it, however, the germ or essence of all conceivable arrangements, that of worthy men to judge of the worth of men;—and was found in practice to work well. As, indeed, any arrangement will work well, when the men in it have the root of the matter at heart; and, alas, all arrangements, when the men in them have not, work ill and not well! Of the Lay Commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each County, it is remarked that not a few are political enemies of Oliver's: friends or enemies of his, Oliver hopes they are men of pious probity, and friends to the Gospel in England. My Lord Ge-

[7] 28th August 1654 (Scobell, ii. 335-47).

neral Fairfax, the Presbyterian; Thomas Scott, of the Long Parliament, the fanatical Republican; Lords Wharton, Say, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Robert Blake, Mayor of Hursley, Dunch of Pusey, Montague of Hinchinbrook, and other persons known to us,—are of these Commissioners. Richard Baxter, who seldom sat, is one of the Clergy for his County: he testifies, not in the willingest manner, being no friend to Oliver, That these Commissioners, of one sort and the other, with many faults, did sift out the deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel, and put-in the salutary in their stead, with very considerable success,—giving us 'able, serious Preachers, who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were;' so that 'many thousands of souls blessed God' for what they had done; and grieved sore when, with the return of the Nell-Gwynn Defender, and his Four Surplices or what remained of them, it was undone again.[8] And so with these *Triers* and these Expurgators both busy, and a faithful eye to watch their procedure, we will hope the Spiritual Teaching-Apparatus of England stood now on a better footing than usual, and actually succeeded in teaching somewhat.

Of the Lord Protector's other Ordinances; Ordinance 'declaring the Law of Treason,' Ordinances of finance, of Amnesty for Scotland, of Union with Scotland, and other important matters, we must say nothing. One elaborate Ordinance, in 'sixty-seven Articles,' for 'Reforming the Court of Chancery,' will be afterwards alluded to with satisfaction, by the Lord Protector himself. Elaborate Ordinance; containing essential improvements, say some;—which has perhaps saved the Court of Chancery from abolition for a while longer! For the rest, 'not above Two-hundred Hackney-coaches' shall henceforth be allowed to ply in this Metropolis and six miles round it; the ever-increasing number of them, blocking up our thoroughfares, threatens to become insupportable.[9]

*April 14th*, 1654. This day, let it be noted for the sake of poor Editors concerned with undated Letters, and others, his Highness removed from his old Lodging in the Cockpit, into new properly Royal Apartments in Whitehall, now ready for him,[10] and lived there henceforth, usually going out to Hamp-

[8] Baxter's *Life*, part i. p. 72.
[9] Scobell, ii. 313; Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 139).
[10] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 139).

ton Court on the Saturday afternoon. He has 'assumed somewhat of the state of a King;' due ceremonial, decent observance beseeming the Protector of the Commonwealth of England; life-guards, ushers, state-coaches,—in which my erudite friend knows well what delight this Lord Protector had! Better still, the Lord Protector has concluded good Treaties; received congratulatory Embassies,—France, Spain itself have sent Embassies. Treaty with the Dutch, with Denmark, Sweden, Portugal:[11] all much to our satisfaction. Of the Portuguese Treaty there will perhaps another word be said. As for the Swedish, this, it is well known, was managed by our learned friend Bulstrode at Upsal itself; whose Narrative of that formidable Embassy exists, a really curious life-picture by our Pedant friend; whose qualities are always fat and good;—whose parting from poor Mrs. Whitlocke at Chelsea, in those interesting circumstances, may be said to resemble that of Hector from Andromache, in some points.

And now for our Four small Letters, for our First Protectorate Parliament, without waste of another word!

## LETTER CXCII.

*For my loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley, in Hampshire: These.*

DEAR BROTHER, 'Whitehall,' 4th May 1654.

I received your loving Letter; for which I thank you: and surely were it fit to proceed in that Business, you should not in the least have been put upon anything but the trouble; for indeed the land in Essex, with some money in my hand, should have gone towards it.

But indeed I am so unwilling to be a seeker after the world, having had so much favour from the Lord in giving me so much without seeking; and 'am' so unwilling that men should think me so, which they will though you only appear in it (for they will, by one means or other, know it),

[11] Dutch Treaty signed, 5th April 1654; Swedish, 28th April; Portuguese, 10th July; Danish Claims settled, 31st July (Godwin, iv. 49-56).

—that indeed I dare not meddle nor proceed therein. Thus I have told you my plain thoughts.

My hearty love I present to you and my Sister, my blessing and love to dear Doll and the little one. With love to all, I rest, your loving brother, OLIVER P.*

A 'business' seemingly of making an advantageous purchase of land for Richard; which Mayor will take all the trouble of, and even advance the money for; but which Oliver P., for good reasons given, 'dare not meddle with.' No man can now guess what land it was,—nor need much. In the Pamphletary dust-mountains is a confused story of Cornet Joyce's,[12] concerning Fawley Park in Hampshire; which, as the dim dateless indications point to the previous winter or summer, and to the 'Lord General Cromwell' as looking towards that property for his Son Richard,—may be the place, for aught we know! The story sets forth, with the usual bewildered vivacity of Joyce: How Joyce, the same who took the King at Holmby, and is grown now a noisy Anabaptist and Lieutenant-Colonel,—how Joyce, I say, was partly minded and fully entitled to purchase Fawley Park, and Richard Cromwell was minded and not fully entitled: how Richard's Father thereupon dealt treacherously with the said Joyce; spake softly to him, then quarrelled with him, menaced him (owing to Fawley Park); nay ended by flinging him into prison, and almost reducing him to his needle and thimble again,—greatly to the enragement and distraction of the said Joyce. All owing to Fawley Park, thinks Joyce and prints;—so that my Lord Protector, if this Park be the place, is very wise 'not to meddle or proceed therein.' And so we leave it.

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## LETTER CXCIII.

MONK, in these summer months, has a desultory kind of Rebellion in the Highlands, Glencairn's or Middleton's Rebellion, to deal with; and is vigorously coercing and strangling it.

* Noble, i. 330; Harris, p. 515:—one of the Pusey Letters.

[12] *True Narrative of the Causes of the Lord-General Cromwell's anger and indignation against Lieutenant-Colonel George Joyce:* reprinted (without date) in *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 557, &c.—Joyce 'is *in* jail,' 19th September 1653 (Thurloe, i. 470).

Colonel Alured, an able officer, but given to Anabaptist notions, has been sent into Ulster to bring over certain forces to assist Monk. His loose tongue, we find, has disclosed designs or dispositions in him which seem questionable. The Lord Protector sees good to revoke his Commission to Alured, and order him up to Town.

'*To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland: These.*'

SIR, 'Whitehall,' 16th May 1654.

By the Letter I received from you, and by the information of the Captain you sent to me, I am sufficiently satisfied of the evil intentions of Colonel Alured; and by some other considerations amongst ourselves, tending to the making-up a just suspicion,—by the advice of friends here, I do revoke Colonel Alured from that Employment.

Wherefore I desire you to send for him to return to you to Dublin; and that you cause him to deliver up the Instructions and Authorities into your hands, which he hath in reference to that Business; as also such moneys and accounts concerning the same,—according to the Letter, herein enclosed, directed to him, which I entreat you to deliver when he comes to you.

I desire 'you' also, to the end the Service may not be neglected, nor 'for' one day stand, it being of so great concernment, To employ some able Officer to assist in Colonel Alured's room, until the men be shipped-off for their design. We purpose also, God willing, to send one very speedily who, we trust, shall meet them at the place, to command in chief. As for provision of victual and other necessaries, we shall hasten them away; desiring that these Forces may by no means stay in Ireland; because we purpose they shall meet their provision in the place they are designed 'for.'

If any farther discovery be with you about any other

passages on Colonel Alured's part, I pray examine them, and speed them to us; and send Colonel Alured over hither with the first opportunity. Not having more upon this subject at present, I rest, your loving father, OLIVER P.

'P.S.' I desire you that the Officer, whom you appoint to assist the shipping of the Forces, may have the money in Colonel Alured's hands, for carrying on the Service; and also that he may leave what remains at Carrickfergus for the Commander-in-chief, who shall call for it there.*

This is the Enclosure above spoken of:

## LETTER CXCIV.

*'To Colonel Alured: These.'*

SIR, 'Whitehall,' 16th May 1654.

I desire you to deliver-up into the hands of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood such Authorities and Instructions as you had for the prosecution of the Business of the Highlands in Scotland; and 'that' you forthwith repair to me to London; the reason whereof you shall know when you come hither, which I would have you do with all speed. I would have you also give an account to the Lieutenant-General, before you come away, how far you have proceeded in this Service, and what money you have in your hands, which you are to leave with him. I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER P.†

This Colonel Alured is one of several Yorkshire Alureds somewhat conspicuous in these wars; whom we take to be Nephews or Sons of the valuable Mr. Alured or Ald'red who wrote to 'old Mr. Chamberlain,'—in the last generation, one morning, during the Parliament of 1628, when certain honour-

* Thurloe, ii. 285. † Ibid. ii. 286.

able Gentlemen held their Speaker down,—a Letter which we thankfully read.[13] One of them, John, was Member in this Long Parliament; a Colonel too, and King's Judge; who is now dead. Here is another, Colonel Matthew Alured, a distinguished soldier and republican; who is not dead; but whose career of usefulness is here ended. 'Repairing forthwith to London,' to the vigilant Lord Protector, he gives what account he can of himself; none that will hold water, I perceive; lingers long under a kind of arrest 'at the Mews' or elsewhere; soliciting either freedom and renewed favour, or a fair trial and punishment; gets at length committal to the Tower, trial by Court Martial,—dismissal from the service.[14] A fate like that of several others in a similar case to his.—Poor Alured! But what could be done with him? He had Republican Anabaptist notions; he had discontents, enthusiasms, which might even ripen into tendencies to correspond with Charles Stuart. Who knows if putting him in a stone waistcoat, and general strait-waistcoat of a mild form, was not the mercifulest course that could be taken with him?

He must stand here as the representative to us of one of the fatalest elements in the new Lord Protector's position: the Republican discontents and tendencies to plot, fermenting in his own Army. Of which we shall perhaps find elsewhere room to say another word. Republican Overton, Milton's friend, whom we have known at Hull and elsewhere; Okey, the fierce dragoon Colonel and zealous Anabaptist; Alured, whom we see here; Ludlow, sitting sulky in Ireland: all these are already summoned up, or about being summoned, to give account of themselves. Honourable, brave and faithful men: it is, as Oliver often says, the saddest thought of his heart that he must have old friends like them for enemies! But he cannot help it; they will have it so. They must go their way, he his.

Much need of vigilance in this Protector! Directly on the back of these Republican commotions come out Royalist ones; with which, however, the Protector is lest straitened to deal. Lord Deputy Fleetwood has not yet received his Letter at Dublin, when here in London emerges a Royalist Plot; the first of any gravity; known in the old Books and State-Trials

[13] Vol. i. p. 51 et seq.

[14] Whitlocke, pp. 499, 510; Thurloe, ii. 294, 313, 414; Burton's *Diary* (London, 1828), iii. 46; *Commons Journals*, vii. 678.

as *Vowel and Gerard's Plot,* or *Somerset Fox's Plot.* Plot for assassinating the Protector, as usual. Easy to do it, as he goes to Hampton Court on a Saturday,—Saturday the 20th of May, for example. Provide thirty stout men; and do it then. Gerard, a young Royalist Gentleman, connected with Royalist Colonels afterwards Earls of Macclesfield,—he will provide Five-and-twenty; some Major Henshaw, Colonel Finch, or I know not who, shall bring the other Five. 'Vowel a Schoolmaster at Islington, who taught many young gentlemen,' strong for Church and King, cannot act in the way of shooting; busies himself consulting, and providing arms. 'Billingsley the Butcher in Smithfield,' he, aided by Vowel, could easily 'seize the Troopers' horses grazing in Islington fields;' while others of us unawares fall upon the soldiers at the Mews? Easy then to proclaim King Charles in the City; after which Prince Rupert arriving with 'Ten-thousand Irish, English and French,' and all the Royalists rising,—the King should have his own again, and we were all made men; and Oliver once well killed, the Commonwealth itself were as good as dead! Saturday the 20th of May; then, say our Paris expresses, then!—

Alas, in the very birthtime of the hour, 'five of the Conspirators are seized in their beds;' Gerard, Vowel, all the leaders are seized; Somerset Fox confesses for his life; whosoever is guilty can be seized: and the Plot is like water spilt upon the ground![15] A High Court of Justice must decide upon it; and with Gerard and Vowel it will probably go hard.

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## LETTER CXCV.

REFERS to a small private or civic matter: the Vicarage of Christ-Church, Newgate Street, the patronage of which belongs to 'the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London as Go-'vernors of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew' ever since Henry the Eighth's time.[16] The former Incumbent, it would seem, had been removed by the Council of State; some Presbyterian probably, who was, not without cause, offensive to them. If now the Electors and the State could both agree on Mr.

[15] French Le Bas dismissed for his share in it: Appendix, No. 28.
[16] Elmes's *Topographical Dictionary of London,* in voce.

Turner,—it would 'silence' several questions, thinks the Lord Protector. Whether they did agree? Who 'Mr. Turner,' of such 'repute for piety and learning,' was? These are questions.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Vyner, Knight, Lord Mayor of London: These.*

MY LORD MAYOR, 'Whitehall,' 5th July 1654.

It is not my custom now, nor shall be, without some special cause moving, to interpose anything to the hindrance of any in the free course of their presenting persons to serve in the Public Ministry.

But, well considering how much it concerns the public peace, and what an opportunity may be had of promoting the interest of the Gospel, if some eminent and fit person of a pious and peaceable spirit and conversation were placed in Christ-Church,—and though I am not ignorant what interest the State may justly challenge to supply that place, which by an Order of State is become void, notwithstanding any resignation that is made:

Yet forasmuch as your Lordship and the rest of the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are about to present thereunto a person of known nobility and integrity before you, namely Mr. Turner, I am contented, if you think good so to improve the present opportunity as to present *him* to the place, to have all other questions silenced; —which will not alone be the fruit thereof; but I believe also the true good of the Parish therein concerned will be thereby much furthered. I rest, your assured friend,

OLIVER P.

'P.S.' I can assure you few men of his time in England have a better repute for piety and learning than Mr. Turner.*

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 104. The Signature alone of the Letter is Oliver's; but he has added the Postscript in his own hand.

I am apt to think the Mr. Turner in question may have been Jerom Turner, of whom there is record in Wood:[17] a Somersetshire man, distinguished among the Puritans; who takes refuge in Southampton, and preaches with zeal, learning, piety and general approbation during the Wars there. He afterwards removed 'to Neitherbury, a great country Parish in Dorsetshire,' and continued there, 'doing good in his zealous way.' If this were he, the Election did not take effect according to Oliver's program;—perhaps Jerom himself declined it? He died, still at Neitherbury, next year; hardly yet past middle age. 'He had a strong memory, which he maintained good to the 'last by temperance,' says old Antony: 'He was well skilled 'in Greek and Hebrew, was a fluent preacher, but too much 'addicted to Calvinism,'—which is to be regretted. '*Pastor* '*vigilantissimus, doctrinâ et pietate insignis*:' so has his Medical Man characterised him; one 'Dr. Loss of Dorchester,' who kept a Note-book in those days. *Requiescat, requiescant.*

The High Court of Justice has sat upon Vowel and Gerard; found them both guilty of High Treason; they lie under sentence of death, while this Letter is a-writing; are executed five days hence, 10th July 1654; and make an edifying end.[18] Vowel was hanged at Charing Cross in the morning; strong for Church and King. The poor young Gerard, being of gentle blood and a soldier, petitioned to have beheading; and had it, the same evening, in the Tower. So ends Plot First. Other Royalists, Plotters or suspect of Plotting,—Ashburnham, who rode with poor Charles First to the Isle of Wight on a past occasion; Sir Richard Willis, who, I think, will be useful to Oliver by and by,—these and a list of others[19] were imprisoned; were questioned, dismissed; and the Assassin Project is rather cowed-down for a while.

Writs for the New Parliament are out, and much electioneering interest over England: but there is still an anecdote connected with this poor Gerard and the 10th of July, detailed at great length in the old Books, which requires to be mentioned here. About an hour after Gerard, there died, in the same place, by the same judicial axe, a Portuguese Nobleman. Don

[17] *Athenæ*, iii. 404.
[18] *State-Trials* (London, 1810), v. 516-39.
[19] Newspapers, 1st-8th June 1654 (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 143).

Pantaleon Sa, whose story, before this tragic end of it, was already somewhat twisted-up with Gerard's. To wit, on the 23d of November last, this same young Major Gerard was walking in the crowd of Exeter 'Change, where Don Pantaleon, Brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, chanced also to be. Some jostling of words, followed by drawing of rapiers, took place between them; wherein as Don Pantaleon had rather the worse, he hurried home to the Portuguese Embassy; armed some twenty of his followers, in headpieces, breastpieces, with sword and pistol, and returned to seek revenge. Gerard was gone; but another man, whom they took for him, these rash Portugals slew there; and had to be repressed, after much other riot, and laid in custody, by the watch or soldiery. Assize-trial, in consequence, for Don Pantaleon; clear Trial in the 'Upper Bench Court,' jury half foreigners; and rigorous sentence of death;—much to Don Pantaleon's amazement, who pleaded and got his Brother to plead the rights of Ambassadors, all manner of rights and considerations; all to no purpose. The Lord Protector would not and could not step between a murderer and the Law: poor Don Pantaleon perished on the same block with Gerard; two Tragedies, once already in contact, had their fifth-act together. Don Pantaleon's Brother, all sorrow and solicitation being fruitless, signed the Portuguese Treaty that very day, and instantly departed for his own country, with such thoughts as we may figure.[20]

## SPEECH II.

BUT now the New Parliament has got itself elected; not without much interest:—the first Election there has been in England for fourteen years past. Parliament of Four-hundred, thirty Scotch, thirty Irish; freely chosen according to the Instrument, according to the Bill that was in progress when the Rump disappeared. What it will say to these late inarticulate births of Providence, and high transactions? Something edifying, one may hope.

Open Malignants, as we know, could not vote or be voted

[20] Whitlocke, pp. 550, 577.

for, to this Parliament; only active Puritans or quiet Neutrals, who had clear property to the value of 200*l.* Probably as fair a Representative as, by the rude method of counting heads, could well be got in England. The bulk of it, I suppose, consists of constitutional Presbyterians and use-and-wont Neutrals; it well represents the arithmetical account of heads in England: whether the real divine and human value of thinking-souls in England,—that is a much deeper question; upon which the Protector and this First Parliament of his may much disagree. It is the question of questions, nevertheless; and he that can answer it best will come best off in the long-run. It was not a successful Parliament this, as we shall find. The Lord Protector and it differed widely in certain fundamental notions they had!—

We recognise old faces, in fair proportion, among those Four-hundred;—many new withal, who never become known to us. Learned Bulstrode, now safe home from perils in Hyperborean countries, is here; elected for several places, the truly valuable man. Old-Speaker Lenthall sits, old Major-General Skippon, old Sir William Masham, old Sir Francis Rouse. My Lord Herbert (Earl of Worcester's son) is here; Owen, Doctor of Divinity, for Oxford University;—a certain not entirely useless Guibon Goddard, for the Town of Lynn, to whom we owe some Notes of the procedure. Leading Officers and high Official persons have been extensively elected; several of them twice and thrice: Fleetwood, Lambert, the Claypoles, Dunches, both the young Cromwells; Montague for his County, Ashley Cooper for his. On the other hand, my Lord Fairfax is here; nay Bradshaw, Haselrig, Robert Wallop, Wildman, and Republicans are here. Old Sir Harry Vane; not young Sir Harry, who sits meditative in the North. Of Scotch Members we mention only Laird Swinton, and the Earl of Hartfell; of the Irish, Lord Broghil and Commissary-General Reynolds, whom we once saw fighting well in that country.[1]—And now hear the authentic Bulstrode; and then the Protector himself.

'*September* 3*d*, 1654.—The Lord's-day, yet the day of the 'Parliament's meeting. The Members met in the afternoon at 'sermon, in the Abbey Church at Westminster: after sermon 'they attended the Protector in the Painted Chamber; who 'made a Speech to them of the cause of their summons,' Speech

[1] Letter CVII. vol. ii. p. 159.

unreported; 'after which, they went to the House, and ad-'journed to the next morning.

'*Monday September 4th.*—The Protector rode in state from 'Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. Some hun-'dreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare; with 'the Life-guard; and next before the coach, his pages and 'lackeys richly clothed. On the one side of his coach went 'Strickland, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with 'the Master of the Ceremonies; both on foot. On the other 'side went Howard,[2] Captain of the Life-guard. In the coach 'with him were his son Henry, and Lambert; both sat bare. 'After him came Claypole, Master of the Horse; with a gallant 'led horse richly trapped. Next came the Commissioners of 'the Great Seal,' Lisle, Widdrington and I; 'Commissioners 'of the Treasury, and divers of the Council in coaches; last 'the ordinary Guards.

'He alighting at the Abbey Church door,' and entering, 'the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next 'them four maces; then the Commissioners of the Seal, Whit-'locke carrying the Purse; after, Lambert carrying the Sword 'bare: the rest followed. His Highness was seated over 'against the Pulpit; the Members of the Parliament on both 'sides.

'After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas 'Goodwin, his Highness went, in the same equipage, to the 'Painted Chamber. Where he took seat in a chair of state 'set upon steps,' raised chair with a canopy over it, under which his Highness sat covered, 'and the Members upon benches 'round about sat all bare. All being silent, his Highness,' rising, 'put off his hat, and made a large and subtle speech to 'them.'[3]

Here is a Report of the Speech, 'taken by one who stood very near,' and 'published[4] to prevent mistakes.' As we, again, stand at some distance,—two centuries with their chasms and ruins,—our hearing is nothing like so good! To help a little, I have, with reluctance, admitted from the latest of the Commentators a few annotations; and intercalated them the best I could; suppressing very many. Let us listen well; and again we shall understand somewhat.

[2] Colonel Charles, ancestor of the Earl of Carlisle. [3] Whitlocke, p. 582
[4] By G. Sawbridge, at the *Bible* on Ludgate Hill, London, 1654.

GENTLEMEN,

You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the Interests of Three great Nations with the territories belonging to them;—and truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the Interest of all the Christian People in the world. And the expectation is, that I should let you know, as far as I have cognisance of it, the occasion of your assembling together at this time.

It hath been very well hinted to you this day,[5] that you come hither to settle the Interests above mentioned: for your work here, in the issue and consequences of it, *will* extend so far, 'even to all Christian people.' In the way and manner of my speaking to you, I shall study plainness; and to speak to you what is truth, and what is upon my heart, and what will in some measure reach to these great concernments.

After so many changes and turnings, which this Nation hath laboured under,—to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since, would have been beyond all our thoughts!—I confess it would have been worthy of such a meeting as this is, To have remembered[6] that which was the rise 'of,' and gave the first beginning to, all these Troubles which have been upon this Nation: and to have given you a series of the Transactions,—not of men, but of the Providence of God, all along unto our late changes: as also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that usurpation and tyranny[7] which was upon us, both in civils and spirituals; and the several grounds particularly applicable to the several changes that have been. But I have two or

[5] in the Sermon we have just heard.
[6] commemorated.
[7] of Charles, Wentworth, Laud and Company.

three reasons which divert me from such a way of proceeding at this time.

If I should have gone in that way, 'then' that which lies upon my heart 'as to these things,'—which is 'so' written there that if I would blot it out I could not,—would 'itself' have spent this day: the providences and dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As David said in the like case, *Psalm* xl. 5, "Many, O Lord my God, are "thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy "thoughts which are to-us-ward: they cannot be reckoned "up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of "them, they are more than can be numbered."—Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had today in the Sermon:[8] you had much recapitulation of Providence; much allusion to a state and dispensation in respect of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances, 'to a state and dispensation similar to ours,'—to, in truth, the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day: To Israel's bringing-out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders, towards a Place of Rest,—I say *towards* it.[9] And that having been so well remonstrated to you this day, is another argument why I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things;—though they are things which I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better Books than those of paper;—written, I am persuaded, in the heart of every good man!

'But' a third reason was this: What I judge to be the end of your meeting, the great end, which was likewise remembered to you this day;[10] to wit, Healing and Settling. The remembering of Transactions too particularly, perhaps

[8] This Sermon of Goodwin's is not in the collected Edition of his Works; not among the King's Pamphlets; not in the Bodleian Library. We gather what the subject was, from this Speech, and know nothing of it otherwise.

[9] not yet at it; *nota bene.*

[10] in the Sermon.

instead of healing,—at least in the hearts of many of you, —might set the wound fresh a-bleeding. 'And' I must profess this unto you, whatever thoughts pass upon me: That if this day, if this meeting, prove *not* healing, what shall we do! But, as I said before, I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause healing. It must be first in His mind:—and He being pleased to put it into yours, this will be a Day indeed, and such a Day as generations to come will bless you for!—I say, for this and the other reasons, I have forborne to make a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and of the manner of the Lord's bringing us through so many changes and turnings as have passed upon us.

Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at least so well as I may, in what condition this Nation, or rather these Nations were, when the present Government[11] was undertaken. And for order's sake: It's very natural to consider what our condition was, in Civils; 'and then also' in Spirituals.

What was our condition! Every man's hand almost was against his brother;—at least his heart 'was;' little regarding anything that should cement, and might have a tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dispensations of God; His terrible ones, when He met us in the way of His judgment[12] in a Ten-years Civil War; and His merciful ones: they did not, they did not work upon us![13] 'No.' But we had our humours and interests;—and indeed I fear our humours went for more with us than even our interests. Certainly, as it falls out in such cases, our passions were more than our judgments.—Was not everything almost grown arbitrary? Who of us knew where or

[11] Protectorate. [12] punishment for our sins.
[13] Reiteration of the word is not an uncommon mode of emphasis with Oliver.

how to have right 'done him,' without some obstruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbitrary in everything.

What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the Interest of the Nation? As to the Authority in the Nation; to the Magistracy; to the Ranks and Orders of men,—whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? [*The Levellers!*] A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman; 'the distinction of these:' that is a good interest of the Nation, and a great one! The 'natural' Magistracy of the Nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of Levelling principles? I beseech you, For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? Did it 'consciously' think to do so; or did it 'only unconsciously' practise towards that for property and interest? 'At all events,' what was the purport of it but to make the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the Landlord? Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long! The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would *then* have cried-up property and interest fast enough! —This instance is instead of many. And that the thing did 'and might well' extend far, is manifest; because it was a pleasing voice to all Poor Men, and truly not unwelcome to all Bad Men. [*Far-extended classes, these two both!*] To my thinking, this is a consideration which, in your endeavours after settlement, you will be so well minded of, that I might have spared it here: but let that pass.—

'Now as to Spirituals.' Indeed in Spiritual things the case was more sad and deplorable 'still;'—and that was told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies; contempt of God and Christ, denying of Him, contempt of Him and His ordinances, and of the Scriptures: a

spirit visibly acting[14] those things foretold by Peter and Jude; yea those things spoken of by Paul to Timothy! Paul declaring some things to be worse than the Antichristian state (of which he had spoken in the *First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second, 'under the title of the Latter times'), tells us what should be the lot and portion of the *Last* Times. He says (*Second to Timothy*, Chapter third, verses second, third, fourth), "In the Last Days perilous times shall come; men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful," and so on. But in speaking of the Antichristian state, he told us (*First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second), that "in the *latter* days" that state shall come in; 'not the *last* days but the latter,' —wherein "there shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy," and so on. This is only his description of the *latter* times, or those of Antichrist; and we are given to understand that there are *last* times coming, which will be worse![15]—And surely it may be feared, these are *our* times. For when men forget all rules of Law and Nature, and break all the bonds that fallen man hath on him; 'obscuring' the remainder of the image of God in their nature, which they cannot blot out, and yet shall en-

[14] a general temper visibly bringing out in practice.

[15] There is no express mention of Antichrist either here or elsewhere in the Text of *Timothy* at all; but, I conclude, a full conviction on the part of Cromwell and all sound Commentators that Antichrist is indubitably shadowed forth there. Antichrist means, with them and him, the Pope; to whom Laud, &c., with his 'four surplices at Allhallowtide' and other clothweb and cobweb furniture, are of kindred. "We have got rid of Antichrist," he seems to intimate, "we have got pretty well done with Antichrist: and are we now coming to something *worse?* To the Levellers, namely! The *Latter* times are over, then; and we are coming now into the *Last* times?" It is on this contrast of comparative and superlative, *Latter* and *Last*, that Oliver's logic seems to ground itself: Paul says nothing of Antichrist, nor anything directly of the one time being worse or better than the other; only the one time is 'latter,' the other is 'last.'—This paragrah is not important; but to gain any meaning from it whatever, some small changes have been necessary. I do not encumber the reader with *double* samples of what at best is grown obsolete to him: such as wish to see the original unadulterated unintelligibility, will find it, in clear print, p. 321, vol. xx. of *Parliamentary History*, and satisfy themselves whether I have read well or ill.

deavour to blot out, "having a form of godliness without the power," — 'surely' these are sad tokens of the last times!

And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place 'of Scripture,' is so legible and visible, that he who runs may read it to be amongst us. For by such "the grace of God is turned into wantonness," and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak for all villany and spurious apprehensions. [*Threatening to go a strange course, those Antinomian, Levelling, day-dreaming Delusionists of ours!*] And though nobody will own these things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable and odious; yet 'the consideration' how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me to think of a Second sort of Men, 'tending in the same direction;' who, it's true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet can tell the Magistrate "That he hath nothing "to do with men holding such notions: These, 'forsooth,' "are matters of conscience and opinion: they are matters "of Religion; what hath the Magistrate to do with these "things? He is to look to the outward man, not to the "inward,"—'and so forth.' And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, that it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment.[16]

Such considerations, and pretensions to "liberty of conscience," 'what are they leading us towards!' Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of the Subject,—two as glorious

[16] The latest of the Commentators says: 'This drossy paragraph has not much 'Political Philosophy in it, according to our modern established Litany of "toler-'ation," "freedom of opinion," "no man responsible for what opinions he may 'form," &c. &c.; but it has some honest human sagacity in it, of a much more 'perennial and valuable character. Worth looking back upon, worth looking up to-'wards,—as the blue skies and stars might be, if through the great deep element 'of "temporary London Fog" there were any chance of seeing them!—Strange 'exhalations have risen upon us, and the Fog is very deep: nevertheless very in-'dubitably the stars still *are*.'

things to be contended for, as any that God hath given us; yet both these abused for the patronising of villanies! Insomuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm, "That the restraining of such pernicious "notions was not in the Magistrate's power; he had no- "thing to do with it. Not so much as the printing of a "Bible in the Nation for the use of the People, 'was com- "petent to the Magistrate,' lest it should be imposed upon "the consciences of men,"—for "they would receive the "same traditionally and implicitly from the Magistrate, if "it were thus received!" The afore-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us.

'So likewise' the axe was laid to the root of the Ministry.[17] It was Antichristian, it was Babylonish, 'said they.' It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth is, as the extremity was great according to the former system,[18] I wish it prove not as great according to this. The former extremity 'we suffered under' was, That no man, though he had never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from Christ, might preach, unless ordained. So now 'I think we are at the other extremity, when' many affirm, That he who is ordained hath a nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped 'thereby' upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard.—I wish it may not be too justly said, That there was severity and sharpness 'in our old system'! Yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these 'times;'—denying liberty 'of conscience' to men who have earned it with their blood; who have earned civil liberty, and religious also, for those [*Stifled murmurs from the Presbyterian Sect*] who would thus impose upon them!—

[17] Preaching Clergy.
[18] 'on that hand' in orig. He alludes to the Presbyterian system.

We may reckon among these our Spiritual evils, an evil that hath more refinedness in it, more colour for it, and hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have done ;—for few have been catched by the former mistakes except such as have apostatised from their holy profession, such as, being corrupt in their consciences, have been forsaken by God, and left to such noisome opinions. But, I say, there is another error of more refined sort; 'which' many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God, 'have fallen into:' and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy—

[Yes, your Highness!—But will his Highness and the old Parliament be pleased here to pause a little, till a faithful Editor take the great liberty of explaining somewhat to the modern part of the audience? Here is a Note saved from destruction; not without difficulty. To his Highness and the old Parliament it will be inaudible; to them, standing very impassive,—serene, immovable in the fixedness of the old Eternities,—it will be no hardship to wait a little! And to us who still live and listen, it may have its uses.

'The common mode of treating Universal History,' says our latest impatient Commentator, 'not yet entirely fallen ob-'solete in this country, though it has been abandoned with 'much ridicule everywhere else for half a century now, was to 'group the Aggregate Transactions of the Human Species into 'Four Monarchies: the Assyrian Monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar 'and Company; the Persian of Cyrus and ditto; the Greek of 'Alexander; and lastly the Roman. These I think were they, 'but am no great authority on the subject. Under the dregs 'of this last, or Roman Empire, which is maintained yet by 'express name in Germany, *Das heilige Römische Reich*, we 'poor moderns still live. But now say Major-General Harrison 'and a number of men, founding on Bible Prophecies, Now 'shall be a Fifth Monarchy, by far the blessedest and the only 'real one,—the Monarchy of Jesus Christ, his Saints reigning 'for Him here on Earth,—if not He himself, which is probable 'or possible,—for a thousand years, &c. &c.— — O Heavens, 'there are tears for human destiny; and immortal Hope itself

'is beautiful because it is steeped in Sorrow, and foolish Desire 'lies vanquished under its feet! They who merely laugh at 'Harrison take but a small portion of his meaning with them. 'Thou, with some tear for the valiant Harrison, if with any 'thought of him at all, tend thou also valiantly, in thy day and 'generation, whither he was tending; and know that, in far 'wider and diviner figure than that of Harrison, the Prophecy 'is very sure,—that it *shall* be sure while one brave man sur-'vives among the dim bewildered populations of this world. 'Good shall reign on this Earth: has *not* the Most High said 'it? To approve Harrison, to justify Harrison, will avail little 'for thee; go and *do likewise*. Go and do better, thou that 'disapprovest him. Spend thou thy life for the Eternal: we 'will call thee also brave, and remember thee for a while!'

So much for 'that mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy:' and now his Highness, tragically audible across the Centuries, continues again:]

—Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honour, and wait, and hope for 'the fulfilment of:' That Jesus Christ *will* have a time to set up His Reign in our hearts; by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there; which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fulness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring-in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. [*Most true;—and not till then!*] The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that Kingdom!—But for men, on this principle, to betitle themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else,—upon such a pretension as this is:—truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions! Nevertheless, as many of these men have good meanings, which I hope

in my soul they have, it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith. 'Jude,' when he reckoned-up those horrible things, done upon pretences, and haply by some upon mistakes: "Of some," says he, "have compassion, making a difference; others save "with fear, pulling them out of the fire."[19] I fear they will give too often opportunity for this exercise! But I hope the same will be for their good. If men do but 'so much as' pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the subjects of the Magistrate's encouragement. And if the Magistrate, by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by that discipline, God having ordained him for that end,—I hope it will evidence *love* and not hatred, 'so' to punish where there is cause. [*Hear I*]

Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger[20] of that spirit. For if these were but notions,—I mean these instances I have given you of dangerous doctrines both in Civil things and Spiritual; if, I say, they were but notions, they were best let alone. Notions will hurt none but those that have them. But when they come to such practices as telling us, 'for instance,' That Liberty and Property are not the badges of the Kingdom of Christ; when they tell us, not that we are to regulate Law, but that Law is to be abrogated, indeed subverted; and perhaps wish to bring in the Judaical Law—

[Latest Commentator *loquitur:* 'This, as we observed, was 'the cry that Westminster raised when the Little Parliament 'set about reforming Chancery. What countenance this of the 'Mosaic Law might have had from Harrison and his minority, 'one does not know. Probably they did find the Mosaic Law, 'in some of its enactments, more cognate to Eternal Justice

[19] Jude, 22, 23. A passage his Highness frequently refers to.

[20] This fact, that they come so often to 'visible miscarriages,' these Fifth-Monarchists and Speculative Levellers, who 'have good meanings.'

'and "the mind of God" than Westminster-Hall Law was; and 'so might reproachfully or admonitorily appeal to it on occasion, 'as they had the clearest title and call to do: but the clamour 'itself, as significant of any practical intention, on the part of 'that Parliament, or of any considerable Sect in England, to 'bring-in the Mosaic Law, is very clearly a long-wigged one, 'rising from the Chancery regions, and is descriptive of nothing 'but of the humour that prevailed there. His Highness alludes 'to it in passing; and from him it was hardly worth even that 'allusion.']

—Judaical Law; instead of our known laws settled among us: this is worthy of every Magistrate's consideration. Especially where every stone is turned to bring in confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's consideration. [*Shall he step beyond his province, then, your Highness? And interfere with freedom of opinion?—"I think, I say, it will be worth his while to consider about it!"*]

Whilst these things were in the midst of us; and whilst the Nation was rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to the other, after this sort and manner I have now told you; family against family, husband against wife, parents against children; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but "Overturn, overturn, overturn!" (a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits),—the common Enemy sleeps not: our adversaries in civil and religious respects did take advantage of these distractions and divisions, and did practise accordingly in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. We know very well that Emissaries of the Jesuits never came in such swarms as they have done since those things[21] were set on foot. And I tell you that divers Gentlemen here can bear witness with me How that they, 'the Jesuits,' have had a Consistory abroad which rules all the affairs of things ["*Affairs of things:*" *rough and*

[21] Speculations of the Levellers, Fifth-Monarchists, &c. &c.

*ready!*] in England, from an Archbishop down to the other dependents upon him. And they had fixed in England,—of which we are able to produce the particular Instruments in most of the limits of their Cathedrals 'or pretended Dioceses,'—an Episcopal Power [*Regular Episcopacy of their own!*], with Archdeacons, &c. And had persons authorised to exercise and distribute those things [*I begin to love that rough-and-ready method, in comparison with some others!*]; who pervert and deceive the people. And all this, while we were in that sad, and as I said deplorable condition.

And in the mean time all endeavours possible were used to hinder the work 'of God' in Ireland, and the progress of the work of God in Scotland; by continual intelligences and correspondences, both at home and abroad, from hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland.[22] Persons were stirred up, from our divisions and discomposure of affairs, to do all they could to ferment the War in both these places. To add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were in a 'foreign' War. Deeply engaged in War with the Portuguese;[23] whereby our Trade ceased: the evil consequences by that War were manifest and very considerable. And not only this, but we had a War with Holland; consuming our treasure; occasioning a vast burden upon the people. A War that cost this Nation full as much as the 'whole' Taxes came unto; the Navy being a Hundred-and-sixty Ships, which cost this Nation above 100,000*l.* a-month; besides the contingencies, which would make it 120,000*l.* That very one War [*sic*] did engage us to so great a charge. —At the same time also we were in a War with France. [*A Bickering and Skirmishing and Liability to War;*[24]—*Mazarin*

[22] Middleton-Glencairn Revolts, and what not.

[23] Who protected Rupert in his quasi-piracies, and did require chastisement from us.

[24] See Appendix, No. 28.

*as yet thinking our side the weaker.*] The advantages that were taken of the discontents and divisions among ourselves did also ferment that War, and at least hinder us of an honourable peace; every man being confident we could not hold-out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say, at the same time we had a War with France. [*Yes, your Highness said so,—and we admit it!*] And besides the sufferings in respect to the Trade of the Nation, it's most evident that the Purse of the Nation could not have been able much longer to bear it,—by reason of the advantages taken by other States to improve their own, and spoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the vent thereof; which is the great staple commodity of this Nation. [*And has continued to be!*] Such was our condition: spoiled in our Trade, and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad.

Things being so,—and I am persuaded it is not hard to convince every person here they were so,—what a heap of confusions were upon these poor Nations! And either things must have been left to sink into the miseries these premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be applied. [*Apparently!*] A remedy hath been applied: that hath been this Government;[25] a thing I shall say little unto. The thing is open and visible to be seen and read by all men; and therefore let it speak for itself. [*Even so, your Highness; there is a silence prouder and nobler than any speech one is used to hear.*] Only let me say this,—because I can speak it with comfort and confidence before a Greater than you all: That in the intention of it, as to the approving of our hearts to God, let men judge as they please, it was calculated 'with

[25] He means, and his hearers understand him to mean, '*Form* of Government' mainly; but he diverges now and then into our modern acceptation of the word 'Government,'—Administration or Supreme Authority.

our best wisdom' for the interest of the People. For the interest of the People alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. And if that be not true [*With animation!*], I shall be bold to say again, Let it speak for itself. Truly I may,—I hope, humbly before God, and modestly before you,—say somewhat on the behalf of the Government. [*Recite a little what it "speaks for itself," after all?*] Not that I would discourse of the particular heads of it, but acquaint you a little with the effects it has had: and this not for ostentation's sake, but to the end I may at this time deal faithfully with you, and acquaint you with the state of things, and what proceedings have been entered-into by[26] this Government, and what the state of our affairs is. This is the main end of my putting you to this trouble.

The Government hath had some things in desire; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the Laws. I say to reform them [*Hear!*]:—and for that end it hath called together Persons, without offence be it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in these Nations,[27] to consider how the Laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the People; how to lessen expense, for the good of the Nation. And those things are in preparation, and Bills prepared; which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. 'In the mean while' there hath been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into the hands of just men [*Matthew Hale, for instance*]; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed—

[FROM THE MODERNS: 'Only to a very small extent and in 'a very temporary manner, your Highness! His Highness re- 'turns upon the Law, on subsequent occasions, and finds the 'reform of it still a very pressing matter. Difficult to sweep 'the intricate foul chimneys of Law his Highness found it,—

[26] 'been upon' in orig.
[27] Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery: antea, p. 8.

'as we after two centuries of new soot and accumulation now 'acknowledge on all hands, with a sort of silent despair, a 'silent wonder each one of us to himself, "What, in God's 'name, is to become of all that?"']

—hath been reformed; I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men: and as for the things, 'or causes,' depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable Persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it[28] hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster.

This Government hath, 'farther,' endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way (likewise touched of 'in our Sermon' this day) of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. [*Commission of Triers; Yea!*] It hath endeavoured to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust of Persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety and integrity, as any, I believe, this Nation hath. And I believe also that, in that care they have taken, they have laboured to approve themselves to Christ, to the Nation and to their own consciences. And indeed I think, if there be anything of quarrel against them,—though I am not here to justify the proceedings of any,—it is that they, 'in fact,' go upon such a character as the Scripture warrants: To put men into that great Employment, and to approve men for it, who are men that have "received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and gave gifts" for the work of the Ministry, and for the edifying of the Body of Christ. The Government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion [*Commission of Ex-*

[28] The Government.

*purgation, too,*] of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function.

One thing more this Government hath done: it hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament;—which, blessed be God, we see here this day! I say, a free Parliament. [*Mark the iteration!*] And that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart and spirit of every good man in England,—save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. It's that which as I have desired above my life, so I shall desire to keep it above my life. [*Verily?*]—

I did before mention to you the plunges we were in with respect to Foreign States; by the War with Portugal, France, the Dutch, the Danes, and the little assurance we had from any of our neighbours round about. I perhaps forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire now it may be so understood, That if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we His poor instruments.—

[Pity if this pass entirely for 'cant,' my esteemed modern friends! It is not cant, nor ought to be. O Higginbotham, there is a *Selbsttödtung*, a killing of Self, as my friend Novalis calls it, which is, was, and forever will be, 'the beginning of all morality,' of all real work and worth for man under this Sun.]

—I did instance the Wars; which did exhaust your treasure; and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer: this I can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. And now you have, though it be not the first in time,—Peace with Swedeland; an honourable peace; through the endeavours of an honourable Person here present as the instrument. [*Whitlocke seen blushing!*] I say you have an honourable peace with a Kingdom which, not

many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbours [*No; we are not exactly their darlings!*]; nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that Peace is concluded; and as I said before, it is an honourable Peace.

You have a Peace with the Danes,—a State that lay contiguous to that part of this Island which hath given us the most trouble. [*Your Montroses, Middletons came always, with their Mosstroopers and Harpy hosts, out of the Danish quarter.*] And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you have a Peace there, and an honourable one. Satisfaction to your Merchants' ships; not only to their content, but to their rejoicing.[29] I believe you will easily know it is so,—'an honourable peace.' You have the Sound open; which used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind[30] at secondhand, you have now all manner of commerce there, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, 'who used to be the carriers and venders of it to us;' and at the same rates and tolls;—and I think, by that Peace, the said rates now fixed-upon cannot be raised to you 'in future.'

You have a Peace with the Dutch: a Peace unto which I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable,

[29] 'Danish claims settled,' as was already said somewhere, 'on the 31st of July:' Dutch and English Commissioners did it, in Goldsmiths' Hall; met on the 27th of June; if the business were not done when August began, they were then to be 'shut-up without fire, candle, meat or drink,'—and to do it out very speedily! They allowed our Merchants 98,000*l.* for damages against the Danes. (Godwin, iv. 49,—who cites Dumont, *Traité* 24.)

[30] Baltic Produce, namely.

and as acceptable to the spirit of this Nation, as any one thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds 'with that Commonwealth;' so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. 'Truly' as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honour and of assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that Interest! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavour is to drive the Protestant part of the people out, as fast as is possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of Interests, I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that you will help them as opportunity shall serve. [*We will!*]

You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal; which Peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace which, your Merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trade; the rate of insurance to that Country having been higher, and so the profit which could bear such rate,[31] than to other places. And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty, which never 'before' was, since the Inquisition was set up there: That our people which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience,—'liberty to worship in Chapels of their own.'

Indeed, Peace is, as you were well told today, desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honour! We are upon a Treaty with France. And we may say this, That if God give us honour in the eyes of the Nations about us, we have reason to bless Him for it, and

31 'their assurance being greater, and so their profit in trade thither,' in orig.

so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.

I am sorry I am thus tedious: but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. And things being so,—I hope you will not be unwilling to hear a little again of the Sharp as well as of the Sweet! And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of these Nations which you and I serve, if I did not let you know *all.*

As I said before, when this Government was undertaken, we were in the midst of those 'domestic' divisions and animosities and scatterings; engaged also with those 'foreign' enemies round about us, at such a vast charge,—120,000*l.* a-month for the very Fleet. Which sum was the very utmost penny of your Assessments. Ay; and then all your treasure was exhausted and spent when this Government was undertaken: all *accidental* ways of bringing-in treasure 'were,' to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed;—the 'forfeited' Lands sold, the sums on hand spent; Rents, Fee-farms, Delinquents' Lands, King's, Queen's, Bishops', Dean-and-Chapters' Lands, sold. These were *spent* when this Government was undertaken. I think it's my duty to let you know so much. And that's the reason why the Taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the People;—of which we have abated 30,000*l.* a-month for the next three months. Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, That though God hath dealt thus 'bountifully' with you,[32] yet these are but entrances and doors of hope. Whereby, through the blessing of God, you *may* enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered! [*Looking up, with a mournful toss of the head, I think.*—"*Ah, no, your Highness; not yet!*"]

You were told today of a People brought out of Egypt

[32] In regard to our Successes and Treaties, &c. enumerated above.

towards the Land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest. *We* are thus far, through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, That we are not brought into misery, 'not totally wrecked;' but 'have,' as I said before, a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the Lord's blessing and His presence go along with the management of affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put the topstone to the work, and make the Nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs! [*Hear!*] You are yet, like the People under Circumcision, but raw.[33] Your Peaces are but newly made. And it's a maxim not to be despised, "Though peace be made, yet it's interest that keeps peace;"—and I hope you will not trust such peace except so far as you see interest upon it. 'But all settlement grows stronger by mere continuance.' And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and 'in brief' that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavours! It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your counsel and advice.

You have great works upon your hands. You have Ireland to look unto. There is not much done to the Planting thereof, though some things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great business to settle the Government of that Nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work[34] through.—You have had laid before you some consider-

[33] See, in *Joshua*, v. 2-8, the whole Jewish Nation circumcised at once. So, too, your Settlements of Discord are yet but indifferently cicatrised.

[34] Of planting Ireland with persons that will plough and pray, instead of quarrel and blarney!

ations, intimating your peace with several foreign States. But yet you have not made peace with *all.* And if they should see we do not manage our affairs with that wisdom which becomes us,—truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all that's done. [*Truly, your Highness!*] And our enemies will have their eyes open, and be revived, if they see animosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great advantage.

I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious and holy understanding of one another, and of your business. [*Alas!*] Concerning which you had so good counsel this day; which as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits,—wherein you shall have my Prayers. [*Prayers, your Highness?—If this be not "cant," what a noble thing is it, O reader! Worth thinking of, for a moment.*]

Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plainness and freeness with you; and say, That I have not spoken these things as one who assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of these great affairs, and of the People of these Nations. I shall trouble you no longer; but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work.*

At this Speech, say the old Newspapers, 'all generally 'seemed abundantly to rejoice, by extraordinary expressions 'and hums at the conclusion,'—Hum-m-m![35] 'His Highness 'withdrew into the old House of Lords, and the Members of 'Parliament into the Parliament House. His Highness, so soon

* Old Pamphlet cited above: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 318-33.

[35] *Cromwelliana*, p. 147; see also Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn (in *Burton*, i. Introd. p. xviii.).

'as the Parliament were gone to their House, went back to 'Whitehall, privately in his barge, by water.'

This Report of Speech Second, 'taken by one that stood near,' and 'published to prevent mistakes,' may be considered as exact enough in respect of matter, but in manner and style it is probably not so close to the Original Deliverance as the foregoing Speech was. He 'who stood near' on this occasion seems to have had some conceit in his abilities as a Reporter; has pared-off excrescences, peculiarities,—somewhat desirous to present the Portrait of his Highness without the warts. He, or his Parliamentary-History Editor and he, have, for one thing, very arbitrarily divided the Discourse into little fractional paragraphs; which a good deal obstruct the sense here and there; and have accordingly been disregarded in our Transcript. Our changes, which, as before, have been insignificant, are indicated wherever they seem to have importance or physiognomic character,—indicated too often, perhaps, for the reader's convenience. As to the meaning, I have not anywhere remained in doubt, after due study. The rough Speech when read faithfully becomes transparent, every word of it; credible, calculated to produce conviction, every word of it;—and that I suppose is or should be, as our impatient Commentator says, 'the definition of a *good Speech*. Other "good speeches," ' continues he, 'ought to be spoken in Bedlam;—unless, indeed, you 'will concede them Drury Lane, and admittance one shilling. 'Spoken in other localities than these, without belief on the 'speaker's part, or hope or chance of producing belief on the 'hearer's—Ye Heavens, as if the good-speeching individual 'were some frightful Wood-and-leather Man, made at Nürn-'berg, and tenanted by a Devil; set to *increase* the Sum of 'Human Madness, instead of lessening it—!'—But we here cut-short our impatient Commentator.—The Reporter of Cromwell, we may say for ourselves, like the painter of him, has not to suppress the warts, the natural rugged physiognomy of the man; which only very poor tastes would exchange for any other. He has to wash the natural face *clean*, however; that men may see *it*, and not the opaque mass of mere soot and featureless confusions which, in two Centuries of considerable Stupidity in regard to that matter, have settled there.

## SPEECH III.

THIS First Protectorate Parliament, we said, was not successful. It chose, judiciously enough, old Lenthall for Speaker; appointed, judiciously enough, a Day of general Fasting :—but took, directly after that, into constitutional debate about Sanctioning the Form of Government (which nobody was specially asking it to 'sanction'); about Parliament and Single Person; powers of Single Person and of Parliament; Coördination, Subordination; and other bottomless subjects;—in which getting always the deeper the more it puddled in them, inquiry or intimation of inquiry rose not obscurely in the distance, Whether this Government should *be* by a Parliament and Single Person? These things the honourable gentlemen, with true industry, debated in Grand Committee, 'from eight in the morning till eight at night, with an hour for refreshment about noon,' debates waxing ever hotter, question ever more abstruse,—through Friday, Saturday, Monday; ready, if Heaven spared them, to debate it farther for unlimited days. Constitutional Presbyterian persons, Use-and-wont Neuters; not without a spicing of sour Republicans, as Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott, to keep the batch in leaven.

His Highness naturally perceived that this would never do, not this;—sent therefore to the Lord Mayor, late on Monday night I think, to look after the peace of the City; to Speaker Lenthall, that he must bring his people to the Painted Chamber before going farther: and early on Tuesday morning, poor Mr. Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn, just about to proceed again, from the Eastern parts, towards his sublime constitutional day's-work, is overwhelmed by rumours, 'That the Parliament is dissolved; that, for certain, the Council of State, and a Council of War, had sat together all the Sabbath-day before, and had then contrived this Dissolution!'

'Notwithstanding,' continues Guibon, 'I was resolved to go to Westminster, to satisfy myself of the truth; and to take my share of what I should see or learn there. Going by water to Westminster, I was told that the Parliament-doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the Barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber. As I went, I saw two Barges at the Privy Stairs.' River and City

in considerable emotion. 'Being come to the Hall, I was con-
'firmed in what I had heard. Nevertheless I did purpose not
'to take things merely upon trust; but would receive an actual
'repulse, to confirm my faith. Accordingly, I attempted up
'the Parliament stairs; but a guard of Soldiers was there, who
'told me, "There was no passage that way; the House was
'locked up, and command given to give no admittance to any;
'—if I were a Member, I might go into the Painted Chamber,
'where the Protector would presently be." The Mace had been
'taken away by Commissary-General Whalley. The Speaker
'and all the Members were walking up and down the Hall, the
'Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber; expecting the
'Protector's coming. The passages there likewise were guarded
'with soldiers.'[1]

No doubt about it, therefore, my honourable friend! Dissolution, or something, is not far. Between nine and ten, the Protector arrived, with due escort of Officers, halberts, Lifeguards; took his place, covered, under 'the state' as before, we all sitting bareheaded on our benches as before; and with fit salutation spake to us;—as follows. 'Speech of an hour and a half long;' taken in characters by the former individual who 'stood near;' audible still to modern men. Tuesday morning 12th September 1654; a week and a day since the last Speech here.

In this remarkable Speech, the occasion of which and the Speaker of which are very extraordinary, an assiduous reader, or 'modern hearer,' will find Historical indications, significant shadowings-forth both of the Protectorate and the Protector; which, considering whence they come, he will not fail to regard as documentary in those matters. Nay perhaps, here for the first time, if he read with real industry, there may begin to paint itself for him, on the void Dryasdust Abyss, hitherto called History of Oliver, some dim adumbration of How this business of Assuming the Protectorate may actually have been. It was, many years ago, in reading these Speeches, with a feeling that they must have been credible when spoken, and with a strenuous endeavour to find what their meaning was, and try to believe it, that to the present Editor the Commonwealth, and Puritan Rebellion generally, first began to be conceivable. Such was his experience.—

[1] Ayscough MSS., printed in *Burton's Diary*, i. Introd. p. xxxiii

But certainly the Lord Protector's place, that September Tuesday 1654, is not a bed of roses! His painful asseverations, appeals and assurances have made the Modern part of his audience look, more than once, with questioning eyes. On this point, take from a certain Commentator sometimes above cited from, and far oftener suppressed, the following rough words:

'"Divers persons who do know whether I lie in that," 'says the Lord Protector. What a position for a hero, to be 'reduced continually to say He does not lie!—Consider well, 'nevertheless, What else could Oliver do? To get on with 'this new Parliament was clearly his one chance of governing 'peaceably. To wrap himself up in stern pride, and refuse to 'give any explanation: would that have been the wise plan of 'dealing with them? Or the stately and not-so-wise plan? Alas, 'the *wise* plan, when all lay yet as an experiment, with so 'dread issues in it to yourself and the whole world, was not 'very discoverable. Perhaps not quite reconcilable with the '*stately* plan, even if it had been discovered!'

And again, with regard to the scheme of the Protectorship, which his Highness says was done by "the Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government," after divers days consulting, and without the least privity of his: 'You never guessed 'what they were doing, your Highness? Alas, his Highness 'guessed it,—and yet must not say, or think, he guessed it. 'There is something sad in a brave man's being reduced to 'explain himself from a barrel-head in this manner! Yet what, 'on the whole, will he do? Coriolanus curled his lip, and 'scowled proudly enough on the sweet voices: but Coriolanus 'had likewise to go over to the Volscians; Coriolanus had not 'the slightest chance to govern by a free Parliament in Rome! 'Oliver was not prepared for these extremities; if less would 'serve. Perhaps in Oliver there is something of better than '"silent pride"? Oliver will have to explain himself before 'God Most High, ere long;—and it will not stead him there, 'that he went wrong because his pride, his "personal dignity," 'his &c. &c. were concerned.——Who would govern men! '"Oh, it were better to be a poor fisherman," exclaimed Dan- 'ton, "than to meddle with governing of men!" "I would 'rather keep a flock of sheep!" said Oliver. And who but a 'Flunky would not, if his real trade lay in keeping sheep?'—

On the whole, concludes our Commentator: 'As good an 'explanation as the case admits of,—from a barrel-head, or '"raised platform under a state." Where so much that is true 'cannot be said; and yet nothing that is false shall be said, '—under penalties forgotten in our Time! With regard to 'those asseverations and reiterated appeals, note this also: An 'oath was an oath then; not a solemn piece of blasphemous 'cant, as too often since. No *contemporary* that I have met 'with, who had any opportunity to judge, disbelieved Oliver in 'these protestations; though many believed that he was un-'consciously deceiving himself. Which, of course, we too, 'where needful, must ever remember that he was liable to do; 'nay, if you will, that he was continually doing. But to this 'Commentator, at this stage in the development of things, '"Apology" seems not the word for Oliver Cromwell;—not 'that, but a far other word! The Modern part of his High-'ness's audience can listen now, I think, across the Time-gulfs, 'in a different mood;—with candour, with human brotherhood, 'with reverence and grateful love. Such as the noble never 'claim in vain from those that have any nobleness. This of 'tasking a great soul continually to prove to us that he was not 'a liar, is too unwashed a way of welcoming a Great Man! 'Scrubby Apprentices of tender years, to them it might seem 'suitable;—still more readily to Apes by the Dead Sea!' Let us have done with it, my friend; and listen to the Speech itself, of date, Painted Chamber, 12th September 1654, the best we can!

GENTLEMEN,

It is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have now to say to you will need no preamble, to let me into my discourse: for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

At our former meeting I did acquaint you what was the first rise of this Government, which hath called you hither, and by the authority of which you have come hither.

Among other things which I then told you of, I said, You were a Free Parliament. And 'truly' so you are,—whilst you own the Government and Authority which called you hither. But certainly that word 'Free Parliament' implied a reciprocity,[2] or it implied nothing at all! Indeed there was a reciprocity implied and expressed; and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable! But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my Office. Which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since I first entered upon my Office, If God will not bear it up, let it sink! [*Yea!*] But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure necessitated thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse.

I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness:—and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that. Namely, That I called not myself to this place! [*His Highness is growing emphatic.*] And being in it, I bear not witness to myself 'or my office;' but God and the People of these Nations have also borne testimony to it 'and me.' *If* my calling be from God, and my testimony from the People,—God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. [*Do you mark that, and the air and manner of it, my honourable friends!*] I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the People of these Nations, if I did.

"That I called not myself to this place," is my first assertion. "That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses," is my second. These two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of.—To make

[2] 'reciprocation' in orig.

plain and clear what I have here asserted, I must take liberty to look 'a little' back.

I was by birth a Gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parliament, 'and others;' and,—not to be over-tedious,—I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those services, to God and His People's Interest, and to the Commonwealth; having, when time was, a competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve, not to recite the times and occasions and opportunities, which have been appointed me by God to serve Him in; nor the presence and blessings of God therein bearing testimony to me. [*Well said, and well forborne to be said!*]

Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp Wars and contests with the then common Enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards: the enjoyment, to wit, of Peace and Liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and a Man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our Wars, or at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end,—after Worcester Fight,—I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament which then sat: hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer what seemed to be the mind of God, namely, To give peace and rest to His People, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying-on of the Military affairs,—I was much disappointed of my expectation. For the issue did not prove so. [*Suppressed murmurs from Bradshaw and Company.*] Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, it was not so, not so!

I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not,—I declined it in my former Speech,[3]—I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses! The thing I drive at is this: I say to you, I hoped to have had leave, 'for my own part,' to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; —and God be Judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter! [*Groans from Dryasdust, scarcely audible, in the deep silence.*] That I lie not in matter of fact is known to very many ["*Hum-m-m!*" *Look of* "*Yea!*" *from the Military Party*]: but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be Judge.[4] Let uncharitable men, who measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say, It is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire,—I do appeal as before upon the truth of that also!——But I could not obtain 'what I desired,' what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend some were of opinion (such the difference of their judgment from mine), That it could not well be.[5]

I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true, of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, To period themselves;—once and again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told them,—for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it; because of my manner of life, which had led me everywhere up and down the Nation,[6] thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men,—that the Nation loathed their sitting. [*Haselrig, Scott and others looking very grim.*] I

[3] Antea, Speech I. vol. iii. p. 206.
[4] He: Believe *you* about that as you see good.
[5] That I could not be spared from my post.
[6] While soldiering, &c.: the original has, 'which was to run up and down the Nation.'

knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they *were* dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it! [*How astonishing there should not have been!*] You are not a few here present who can assert this as well as myself.

And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident: not only in regard there was a just fear of that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it 'actually' was their design. 'Yes;' had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, I believe there never would have been 'any' thoughts of rising, or of going out of that Room, to the world's end. I myself was sounded, and, by no mean persons [*O Sir Harry Vane!*], tempted; and proposals were made me to that very end: That the Parliament[7] might be thus perpetuated; that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections;—and so continue from generation to generation.

I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you. [*What noble man would not, your Highness?*] But, having proceeded thus far, I must tell you 'this also:' That poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning; to the confiscation of goods and estates; without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling![8] I tell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to help them, except by our mournings, and giving our negatives when occasion served.—I have given you but a taste of miscarriages 'that then were.' I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them; for nothing was more obvious. It's true this will be said, That there

[7] 'it' in orig.

[8] Antea, vol. iii. p. 181.

was a remedy endeavoured: To put an end to this Perpetual Parliament, by giving us a future Representative. How that was gotten, by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

'But,' what *was* this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to give us Successive Parliaments. And what was 'the nature of' that Succession? It was, That when one Parliament had left its seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid what was the real danger, namely, Perpetuating of the same 'men in' Parliaments. Which is a sore, now, that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome,—if a remedy be not found.

Nay, at best what will such a remedy amount to? It is a conversion of a Parliament that would have been and was Perpetual, to a Legislative Power Always Sitting! [*Which, however, consists of different men, your Highness!*] And so the liberties and interests and lives of people *not* judged by any certain known Laws and Power, but by an arbitrary Power; which is incident and necessary to Parliaments. [*So!*] By an arbitrary Power, I say:[9] to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonment,—sometimes 'even' by laws made after the fact committed; often by the Parliament's assuming to itself to give judgment both in capital and criminal things, which in former times was not known to exercise such a judicature.[10] This, I suppose, was

[9] Such as the Long Parliament did continually exert.

[10] Intricate paragraphs, this and the foregoing; treating of a subject complex in itself, and very delicate to handle before such an audience. His Highness's logic perhaps hobbles somewhat: but this strain of argument, which to us has fallen so dim and obsolete, was very familiar to the audience he was now addressing,—the staple indeed of what their debates for the last three days had been (Burton, i. Introd. pp. 25-33; Whitlocke, p. 587, &c.). 'Perpetuating of the same men in Parliament:' that clearly is intolerable, says the first Paragraph. But not only so, says the second Paragraph, 'a Legislative Assembly always sitting,' though it consist of new men, is likewise intolerable: any Parliament, as the Long Parliament has too fatally taught us, if left to itself, is, by its nature, arbitrary, of unlimited power, liable to grow tyrannous;—ought therefore only to sit at due intervals, and to have other Powers (Protectorate, for example) ready to check it on occasion. All this the ancient audience understands very well; and the modern needs only to understand that they understood it.

the case 'then before us.' And, in my opinion, the remedy was fitted to the disease! Especially coming in the rear of a Parliament which had so exercised its power and authority as that Parliament had done but immediately before.

Truly I confess,—upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other persons who saw nothing could be had otherwise,—that Parliament was dissolved [*Not a doubt of it!*]: and we, desiring to see if a few might have been called together for some short time who might put the Nation into some way of certain settlement,—did call those Gentlemen [*The Little Parliament; we remember them!*] out of the several parts of the Nation. And as I have appealed to God before you already,[11]—though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet in such exigences as these I trust it will not offend His Majesty; especially to make them before Persons that know God, and know what conscience is, and what it is to "lie before the Lord"! I say, As a principal end in calling that Assembly was the settlement of the Nation, so a chief end to myself was to lay down the Power which was in my hands. [*Hum-m-m!*] I say to you again, in the Presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: That was, as to myself, my greatest end! [*Your Highness—?—And "God" with you ancients is not a fabulous polite Hearsay, but a tremendous all-irradiating Fact of Facts, not to be "lied before" without consequences?*] A desire perhaps, I am afraid, sinful enough, To be quit of the Power God had most clearly by His Providence[12] put into my hands, before He called me to lay it down; before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled.—I say, the Authority I had in my hand being so boundless

[11] 'I know, and I hope I may say it,' follows in orig.,—deleted here, for light's sake, though characteristic.

[12] 'most providentially' in orig.: has not the modern meaning; means only as in the Text.

as it was,—for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the Forces in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,—we called that Meeting, for the ends before expressed.

What the event and issue of that Meeting was, we may sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it,[13] and I hope will make us all wiser for the future! But, 'in short,' that Meeting not succeeding, as I already said unto you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof: only the result was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, signed by very much the major part of them; expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here, who do know whether I lie in that [*Hum-m-m!*], That I did not know one tittle of that Resignation 'of theirs,' till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands. Of this also there are in this presence many witnesses. [*Yes, many are convinced of it,—some not.*] I received this Resignation; having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep them together. Observing their differences, I thought it my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail with them for union. But it had the effect I told you; and I had my disappointment.

When this proved so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My 'own' Power was again, by this resignation, 'become' as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness; and myself, 'the only constituted authority that was left,' a person having power over the three Nations, without bound or limit set;—and all Government, upon the matter, being

[13] Warning us not to quarrel, and get into insoluble theories, as they did.

dissolved; all *civil* administration at an end,[14]—as will presently appear. [" *A grave situation: but who brought us to it?" murmur my Lord Bradshaw and others.*]

The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government[15] did consult divers days together (men of known integrity and ability), How to frame somewhat that might give us settlement. They did consult;—and that I was not privy to their councils they know it. [*Alas!*]—When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a good preparation of it, they became communicative. [*Hum-m-m!*] They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. [*A plain truth they told.*] I refused it again and again; not complimentingly,—as they know, and as God knows! I confess, after many arguments, they urging on me, " That I did not hereby receive anything which put me " into a *higher* capacity than before; but that it *limited* me; " that it bound my hands to act nothing without the consent " of a Council, until the Parliament, and then limited 'me' " by the Parliament, as the Act of Government expresseth," —I did accept it. I might repeat again to you, if it were needful, but I think it hardly is: I was arbitrary in power; having the Armies in the three Nations under my command;—and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved by the People. By the good People. And I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things *were*, before God and in themselves, and also before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. [*His Highness is rallying; getting out of the Unutterable into the Utterable!*] I did, at the entreaty of divers Persons of Honour and Quality, at the entreaty of

[14] *Civil* Office-bearers feeling their commission to be ended.
[15] Plan or Model of Government.

very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present, —'at their entreaty' and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of PROTECTOR: and was, in the presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, and so forth,—accompanied to Westminster Hall; where I took the Oath to this Government. [*Indisputably: draw your own inferences from it!*] This was not done in a corner: it was open and public!—This Government hath been exercised by a Council;[16] with a desire to be faithful in all things:—and, among all other trusts, to be faithful in *calling this Parliament.*

And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Discourse;[17] which truly I have been necessitated to 'do,'—and contracted in 'the doing of,' because of the unexpectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself. But this is a Narrative that discovers to you the series of Providences and of Transactions leading me into the condition wherein I now stand. The next thing I promised 'to demonstrate to' you, wherein, I hope, I shall be briefer—Though I am sure the occasion does require plainness and freedom!—'But as to this first thing,'[18] That I brought not myself into this condition: surely in my own apprehension I did not! And whether I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I shall submit to your judgment. And there shall I leave it. Let God do what He pleaseth.

The other thing, I say, that I am to speak of to you is,

[16] According to the 'Instrument' or Program of it. [17] Narration.

[18] This paragraph is characteristic. One of Oliver's *warts*. His Highness, in haste to be through, is for breaking-off into the 'next thing,' with hope of greater 'brevity;' but then suddenly bethinks him that he has not yet quite completely winded-off the '*first* thing,' and so returns to that. The paragraph, stark nonsense in the original (where they that are patient of such can read it, *Parliamentary History*, xx. 357), indicates, on intense inspection, that this is the purport of it. A glimpse afforded us, through one of Oliver's confused regurgitations and incondite *mis*utterances of speech, into the real inner man of him. Of which there will be other instances as we proceed.

" That I have not 'borne,' and do not bear, witness to my-
" self." I am far from alluding to Him that said so![19] Yet truth, concerning a member of His, He will own, though men do not.—But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so; let men be as froward as they will. [*My honourable friends!*] I have witness Within,—Without,—and Above! But I shall speak of my witnesses Without; having fully spoken of the Witness who is Above, and 'who is' in my own conscience, before. Under the other head[20] I spoke of these; because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals;—and, I trust, might lawfully make them (as lawfully as take an oath), where the things were not so apt to be made evident 'otherwise.' [*In such circumstances, Yea!*]—I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

When I had consented to accept of the Government, there was some Solemnity to be performed. And that was accompanied by some persons of considerableness in all respects: there were the persons before mentioned to you;[21] these accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this Government, to Westminster Hall to receive my Oath. There was an express[22] consent on the part of these and other interested persons. And 'there was also' an implied consent of many; showing their good liking and approbation thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think you are altogether strangers to it in your countries. Some did not nauseate it; very many did approve it.

I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army, in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. I say, of the Officers: I had that by their 'express' Remon-

[19] 'Then answered Jesus, and said unto them,——If I bear witness of myself, 'my witness is not true. There is Another that beareth witness of me.' (*John*, v. 31, 32.)

[20] 'upon the other account' in orig. [21] 'before expressed' in orig.

[22] 'explicit' and 'implicit' in the original; but we must say 'express' and 'implied,'—the word 'implicit' having now got itself tacked to 'faith' (*implicit-faith*), and become thereby hopelessly degraded from any independent meaning.

strances,[23] and under signature. But there went along with that express consent of theirs, an implied consent also 'of a body' of persons who had 'had' somewhat to do in the world; who had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and of His People in the three Nations. [*The Soldiery of the Commonwealth. Persons of "some considerableness," these too!*] And truly, until my hands were bound, and I 'was' limited (to my own great satisfaction, as many can bear me witness); while I had in my hands so great a power and arbitrariness,—the Soldiery were a very considerable part of these Nations, especially all Government being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the Sword! And yet they,—which many Histories will not parallel,—even they were desirous that things might come to a consistency; and arbitrariness be taken away; and the Government be put into 'the hands of' a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. [*Hear!*] There was another evidence 'of consent, implied if not express.'

I would not forget the honourable and civil entertainment, with the approbation I found in the great City of London;[24]—which the City knows whether I directly or indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it folly to remember this. For it was very great and high; and very public; and 'included' as numerous a body of those that are known by names and titles,—the several Corporations and Societies of Citizens in this City,—as hath at any time been seen in England. And not without some appearance of satisfaction also.—And I had not this witness only. I have had from the greatest County in England, and from

[23] Means 'Public Letters of Adherence.'

[24] Dinner, with all manner of gala, in the common Royal Style; 8th February 1653-4 (Whitlocke, 2d edition, p. 581).

many Cities and Boroughs and Counties, express approbations. 'Express approbations' not of men gathered here and there, but from the County General Assizes;—the Grand Jury, in name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Yeomen and Inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time; and giving very great approbation and encouragement to me to go through with it.[25] These are plain; I have them to show. And by these, in some measure, it will appear "I do not bear witness to myself."

This is not all. The Judges,—truly I had almost forgotten it [*Another little window into his Highness!*],—the Judges, thinking that there had now come a dissolution to all Government, met and consulted; and did declare one to another, That they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received Commissions from me. And they did receive Commissions from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they have acted:—and all Justices of the Peace that have acted have acted by virtue of like Commissions. Which was a little more than an implied approbation! And I believe all the Justice administered in the Nation hath been by this authority. Which also I lay before you; desiring you to think, Whether all those persons now mentioned must not come to you for an Act of Oblivion and General Pardon, for having acted under and testified to this Government, if it be disowned by you!—

And I have two or three witnesses more,—equivalent to all these I have yet mentioned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken! If I should say, All *you* that are here are my witnesses,—I should say no untruth! I know that

[25] 'Humble Petition and Representation of the Grand Jury at the Assizes held at York, March 1653 (1654), in name of' &c. &c.: Newspapers; *Perfect Diurnal*, 3d-10th April 1654 (King's Pamphlets, large 4to, no. 82, §12), and others.—Similar recognition 'by the Mayor' &c. &c. 'of the ancient City of York' (ibid.).

you are the same persons here that you were in your countries[26]—But I will reserve this for a little; this will be the *issue*, 'the general outcome and climax,' of my Proof. [*Another little window:—almost a half-soliloquy; you see the Speech getting ready in the interior of his Highness.*] I say I have two or three witnesses, of still more weight than all I have counted and reckoned yet. All the People in England are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland! All the Sheriffs in England are my witnesses: and all that have come-in upon a Process issued out by Sheriffs are my witnesses. [*My honourable friends, how did* YOU *come in?*] Yea, the Returns of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, —not a thing to be blown away by a breath,—the Return on behalf of the Inhabitants in the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, all are my witnesses of approbation to the Condition and Place I stand in.

And I shall now make *you* my last witnesses! [*Here comes it, "the issue of my Proof!"*] And shall ask you, Whether you came not hither by my Writs directed to the several Sheriffs 'of Counties,' and through the Sheriffs to the other Officers of Cities and Liberties? To which 'Writs' the People gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them,—to which end great numbers of copies 'thereof' were sent down to be communicated to them. And the Government[27] 'was' also required to be distinctly read unto the People at the place of election, to avoid surprises, 'or misleadings of them through their ignorance;'—where also they signed the Indenture,[28] with proviso, "That the Persons so chosen should *not* have "power to alter the Government as now settled in one Single "Person and a Parliament!" [*My honourable friends—?*] —And thus I have made good my second Assertion, "That

[26] Where you had to acknowledge me before election, he means, but does not yet see good to say.

[27] Act or Instrument of Government. [28] Writ of Return.

I bear not witness to myself;" but that the good People of England and you all are my witnesses.

Yea, surely!—And 'now' this being so,—though I told you in my last Speech "that you were a Free Parliament," yet I thought it was understood withal that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you! That I was in possession of the Government by a good right from God and men! And I believe if the learnedest men in this Nation were called to show a precedent, equally clear, of a Government so many ways approved of, they would not in all their search find it.—I did not in my other Speech take upon me to justify the 'Act of' Government in every particular; and I told you the reason, which was plain: The Act of Government was public, and had long been published, 'in order' that it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

This is what I had to say at present for approving[29] myself to God and my conscience in my actions throughout this undertaking; and for giving cause of approving myself to every one of your consciences in the sight of God.—And if the fact be so, why should we sport with it? With a business so serious! May not this character, this stamp [*Stamp put upon a man by the Most High and His providences*], bear equal poise with any Hereditary Interest that could furnish, or hath furnished, in the Common Law or elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning? In the like of which many have exercised more wit, and spilt more blood, than I hope ever to live to see or hear of again in this Nation! [*Red and White Roses, for example; Henry of Bolingbroke, and the last 'Protector.'*]—I say, I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God,

[29] 'By what I have said, I have approved,' &c. in orig.: but rhetorical charity required the change.

with *any* Hereditary Interest [*Nor do I!*]; as a thing *less* subject to those cracks and flaws which that 'other' is commonly incident unto; the disputing of which has cost more blood in former times in this Nation than we have leisure to speak of now!—

Now if this be thus, and I am deriving a title from God and men upon such accounts as these are—Although some men be froward, yet that *your* judgments who are Persons sent from all parts of the Nation under the notion of *approving* this Government—[*His Highness, bursting with meaning, completes neither of these sentences; but pours himself, like an irregular torrent, through other orifices and openings.*]—For you to disown or not to own it: for you to act with Parliamentary Authority especially in the disowning of it; contrary to the very fundamental things, yea against the very root itself of this Establishment: to sit and not own the Authority by which you sit,— —is that which I believe astonisheth more men than myself; and doth as dangerously disappoint and discompose the Nation as any thing 'that' could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or 'that' could well have happened. [*Sorrow, anger and reproach on his Highness's countenance; the voice risen somewhat into* ALT, *and rolling with a kind of rough music in the tones of it!*]

It is true, as there are some things in the Establishment which are Fundamental, so there are others which are not, but are Circumstantial. Of these no question but I shall easily agree to vary, to leave out, 'according' as I shall be convinced by reason. But some things are Fundamentals! About which I shall deal plainly with you: These may *not* be parted with; but will, I trust, be delivered over to Posterity, as the fruits of our blood and travail. The Government by a Single Person and a Parliament is a Fundamental! It is the *esse*, it is constitutive. And as for the Person,—

though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do not: no, nor can any reasonable man say it. If the things throughout this Speech be true, I plead for this Nation, and for all honest men therein who have borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself! And if things should do otherwise than well (which I would not fear), and the Common Enemy and discontented persons take advantage of these distractions, the issue will be put up before God: let Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He pleases!—

In every Government there must be Somewhat Fundamental [*Will speak now of Fundamentals*], Somewhat like a *Magna Charta*, which should be standing, be unalterable. Where there is a stipulation on one side, and that fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said,—surely a return[30] ought to be; else what does that stipulation signify? If I have, upon the terms aforesaid, undertaken this great Trust, and exercised it; and by it called *you*,—surely it ought 'by you' to be owned.—That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a Fundamental. [*Yea; all know it: taught by the example of the Rump!*] Of what assurance is a *Law* to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in the same Legislature to *un*law it again? [*Must have a Single Person to check your Parliament.*] Is such a Law like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand; it will give no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

'Again,' is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up ["HE *is to decide on the Form of Church-Government, then?*' *The Moderns, especially the Voluntary Principle, stare*],—why should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of Conscience is a natural right; and he

[30] reciprocal engagement.

that would have it, ought to give it; having 'himself' liberty to settle what he likes for the Public. ["*Where, then, are the limits of Dissent?*" *An abstruse question, my Voluntary friends; especially with a Gospel really* BELIEVED!] Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our Contest. Every Sect saith: "Oh, give me liberty!" But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? 'Liberty of Conscience'—truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! The Magistrate hath *his* supremacy; he may settle Religion, 'that is, Church-Government,' according to his conscience. And 'as for the People'—I may say it to you, I can say it: All the money of this Nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of Liberty 'of Conscience' better than Episcopacy granted them, or than would have been afforded by a Scots Presbytery,—or an English either, if it had made such steps, and been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when first set up![31] This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the Imposer [*As you seem to argue*], without fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule ["*Fitting:*" *that is a wide word!*],—we shall have the People driven into wildernesses. As they were, when those poor and afflicted people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, were necessitated, for enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England;—where they have, for Liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort; embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage. [*Yea!*]

[31] Liberty of Conscience must not be refused to a People who have fought and conquered 'upon such an account' as ours was! For more of Oliver's notions concerning the Magistrate's power in Church matters, see his Letter to the Scotch Clergy, Letter CXLVIII. vol. iii. p. 59.

Another 'Fundamental' which I had forgotten is the Militia. That is judged a Fundamental if anything be so. That *it* should be well and equally placed is very necessary. For, put the absolute power of the Militia into 'the hands of' one 'Person,'—without a check, what doth it serve? 'On the other hand,' I pray you, what check is there upon your Perpetual Parliaments, if the Government be wholly stript of this of the Militia? 'This as we now have it' is[32] equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so;—namely, in one Person, and in the Parliament 'along with him,' while the Parliament sits. What signified a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power of the Militia be solely in *them?* Think, Whether without some check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter the Frame of Government altogether,—into Aristocracy, Democracy, into Anarchy, into anything, if this 'of the Militia' be fully in them! Yea, into all confusion; and that without remedy! If this one thing be placed in one 'party,' that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme Governor, hath power to make what he pleases of all the rest. ["*Hum-m-m!*" *from the old Parliament.*]—Therefore if you would have a balance at all; if you agree that some Fundamentals must stand, as worthy to be delivered over to Posterity,—truly I think it is not unreasonably urged that 'this power of' the Militia should be disposed as we have it in the Act of Government;—should be placed so equally that no one party neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament have the power of ordering it. 'Well;'—the Council are the Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all *intervals* of Parliament; and have as absolute a negative upon the Supreme Officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath while it is sitting. [*So that we are safe—or safish, your Highness? No one party has power of the Militia at any time.*] The power of the

[32] 'It is' in orig.

Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can be raised, nor a penny charged upon the People, nothing can be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council. Give me leave to say, There is very little power, none but what is coördinate, 'placed' in the Supreme Officer; and yet enough in him in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, who do as absolutely bind him as the Parliament while sitting doth.—

As for that of Money—I told you some things were Circumstantials [*Comes to the Circumstantials*];—as, for example, this is: That we should have 200,000*l.* to defray Civil Offices,—to pay the Judges and other Officers; to defray the charges of the Council in sending their embassies, in keeping intelligence, and doing what is necessary; and to support the Governor in Chief:[33] All this is, by the Instrument, supposed and intended. But it is not of the *esse* so much; nor 'is it' limited 'so strictly' as 'even' the number of Soldiers is,—20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. [*Guard even afar off against any sinking below the minimum in that!*] Yet if the spirits of men were composed, 5,000 Horse and 10,000 Foot might serve. These things are 'Circumstantial,' are between the Chief Officer and the Parliament, to be moderated, 'regulated,' as occasion shall offer.

Of this sort there are many Circumstantial things, which are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But the things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be unalterable. Else every succeeding Parliament will be disputing to alter the Government; and we shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parliaments, and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's Providence, evil 'effects' appearing, and good appearing,

[33] Instrument of Government, Art. 27 (*Somers Tracts*, vi. 294).

and better judgment 'in ourselves,' will give occasion for ordering of things to the best interest of the People. Those 'Circumstantial' things are the matter of consideration between you and me.

I have indeed almost tired myself. What I have farther to say is this [*Does not yet say it*]—I would it had not been needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things with you, and in such a manner as this! But Necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities,—'certainly these' are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to break known rules by. 'Yes;' but it is *as* legal, 'contrary to God's free Grace,' as carnal, and as stupid [*A tone of anger*], to think that there are no Necessities which are manifest 'and real,' because necessities may be abused or feigned! And truly that were my case[34] if I should so think 'here;' and I hope none of you so think. I have to say [*Says it now*]: The wilful throwing-away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, so witnessed to (in the Fundamentals of it) as was mentioned above, 'were a thing which,'—and in reference 'not to *my* good, but' to the good of these Nations and of Posterity,—I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto! [*Never!—Do you catch the tone of that voice, reverberating, like thunder from the roof of the Painted Chamber, over the heads of Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott and Company; the aspect of that face, with its lion-mouth and mournful eyes,—kindled now and radiant all of it, with sorrow, with rebuke and wrathful defiance?—Bradshaw and Company look on it unblanched; but will be careful not to provoke such a one. There lie penalties in him!*]

You have been called hither to save a Nation,—Nations.

[34] To be legal, and carnal and stupid.

You had the best People, indeed, of the Christian world put into your trust, when you came hither. You had the affairs of these Nations delivered over to you in peace and quiet; you were, and we all are, put into an undisturbed possession, nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God, our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace at home; peace with almost all our Neighbours round about, —apt 'otherwise' to take advantages where God did administer them. 'These things we had, few days ago, when you came hither. And now?'—To have our peace and interest, whereof those were our hopes the other day, thus shaken, and put under such a confusion; and ourselves [*Chiefly* "*I*"] rendered hereby almost the scorn and contempt of those strangers [*Dutch Ambassadors and the like*] who are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs! To give *them* opportunity to see our nakedness as they do: "A "people that have been unhinged this twelve-years day,[35] "and are unhinged still,"—as if scattering, division and confusion came upon us like things we desired: '*these*,' which are the greatest plagues that God ordinarily lays upon Nations for sin!

I would be loath to say these are matters of our desire.[36] But if not, then why not matters of our *care*,—as wisely as by our utmost endeavours we might, to *avoid* them! Nay if, by such actings as these 'now' are, these poor Nations shall be thrown into heaps and confusion, through blood, and ruin, and trouble[37]—And upon the saddest account that ever was, if breaking 'and confusion' should come upon us; —all because we would not settle when we could, when God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled everywhere: and to have all recoil upon us; and ourselves 'to be' shaken in our affections, loosened from all known

[35] An old phrase; 'day' emphatic. [36] Politely oblique for 'your desire.'
[37] 'what shall we then say?' his Highness means, but does not complete the sentence,—as is sometimes his habit.

and public interests:—as I said before, who shall answer for these things to God?

Who can answer for these things to God, or to men? 'To men'—to the People who sent you hither; who looked for refreshment from you; who looked for nothing but peace and quietness, and rest and settlement? When we come to give an account to them, we shall have it to say, "Oh, "we quarrelled for the *Liberty of England;* we contested, "and 'went to confusion,' for that!"—'Now,' Wherein, I pray you, for the "Liberty of England"? I appeal to the Lord, that the desires and endeavours we have had——Nay the things will speak for themselves. The "Liberty of England," the Liberty of the People; the avoiding of tyrannous impositions either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians;—is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak for itself. And when it shall appear to the world what 'really' hath been said and done by all of us, and what our real transactions were—For God can discover; no Privilege [*What! Not even Privilege of Parliament?*] will hinder the Lord from discovering! No Privilege, or condition of man can hide from the Lord; He can and will make all manifest, if He see it for His glory![38]—And when these 'things, as I say,' shall be manifested; and the People will come and ask, "Gentlemen, what condition is this we "are in? We hoped for light; and behold darkness, ob- "scure darkness! We hoped for rest after ten-years Civil "War, but are plunged into deep confusion again!"—Ay; we know these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not find out some way to prevent them.

I had a thought within myself, That it would not have been dishonest nor dishonourable, nor against true Liberty, no not 'the Liberty' of Parliaments, 'if,' when a Parliament

[38] 'Privilege' of Parliament, in those days, strenuously forbids *reporting;* but it will not serve in the case referred to!

was so chosen 'as you have been,' in pursuance of this Instrument of Government, and in conformity to it, and with such an approbation and consent to it,—some Owning of your Call and of the Authority which brought you hither, had been required before your entrance into the House. [*Deep silence in the audience.*] This was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. And therefore I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! [*Paleness on some faces.*] Seeing the Authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted, —till some such Assurance be given and made known, that the Fundamental Interest shall be settled and approved according to the proviso in the 'Writ of' Return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I HAVE CAUSED A STOP TO BE PUT TO YOUR ENTRANCE INTO THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE. [*You understand that, my honourable friends?*]

I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this! But there is cause: and if things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, will do that which becomes *me*, seeking my counsel from God.—There is therefore Somewhat [*A bit of written Parchment!*] to be offered to you; which I hope will answer, being understood with the qualifications I have told you,—'namely, of' reforming as to Circumstantials, and agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals, 'that is to say,' in the Form of Government now settled, which is expressly stipulated in your Indentures "not to be altered." The making of your minds known in that by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a Parliament which are for

the good of the People. And this thing [*The Parchment!*], 'when once it is' shown to you and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy; and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. [*Honourable gentlemen look in one another's faces,—find general blank.*]

The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. [*My honourable friends, you know the way, don't you?*]——

The 'Instrument of' Government doth declare that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the Instrument doth express it, you may make any Laws; and if I give not my consent, within twenty days, to the passing of your Laws, they are *ipso facto* Laws, whether I consent or no,—if not contrary to the 'Frame of' Government. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public; and I think you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement. And I, for my part, shall be willing to be bound more than I am, in anything concerning which I can become convinced that it may be for the good of the People, or tend to the preservation of the Cause and Interest so long contended for.*

Go your ways, my honourable friends, and sign, so many of you as God hath made free thereunto! The place, I tell you, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. The 'Thing,' as you will find there, is a bit of Parchment with these words engrossed on it: '*I do hereby freely promise, and engage myself,* '*to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Common-*' *wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and shall not* (*ac-*' *cording to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to* ' *serve in this present Parliament*) *propose, or give my consent,* ' *to alter the Government as it is settled in a Single Person and*

* Old Pamphlet, brother to the foregoing; reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 349-69.

'*a Parliament.*'[39] Sign that, or go home again to your countries.

Let honourable gentlemen therefore consider what they will do!—'About a Hundred signed directly, within an hour.' Guibon Goddard and all the Norfolk Members (except one, who was among the direct Hundred) went and 'had dinner together,' to talk the matter over;—mostly thought it would be better to sign; and did sign, all but some two. The number who have signed this first day, we hear, is a Hundred-and-twenty, a Hundred-and-thirty, nay a Hundred-and-forty.[40] Blank faces of honourable gentlemen begin to take meaning again, — some mild, some grim. Tomorrow being Fastday, there is an adjournment. The recusants are treated 'with all tenderness;' most of them come-in by degrees: 'Three-hundred before the month ends.'

Deep Republicans, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Thomas Scott and the like, would not come-in; still less would shallow noisy ones, as Major Wildman;—went home to their countries again, their blank faces settling into permanent grim. My Lord Protector molested no man for his recusancy; did indeed take that absence as a comparative favour from the parties. Harrison and other suspect persons are a little looked after: the Parliament resumes its function as if little had happened. With a singular acquiescence on the part of the Public, write our correspondents, Dutch and other. The Public, which I have known rebel against crowned Kings for twitching the tippet of a Parliament, permits this Lord Protector to smite it on the cheek, and say, "Have a care, wilt thou!" Perhaps this Lord Protector is believed to mean better than the King did? There is a difference in the objects of men, as the Public understands;—a difference in the men too for rebelling against! At any rate, here is singular submission everywhere; and my Lord Protector getting ready a powerful Sea-Armament, neither his Parliament nor any other creature can yet guess for what.[41]

Goddard's report of this Parliament is distinct enough; brief, and not without some points of interest; 'the misfortune is,' says one Commentator, 'he does not give us *names*.' Alas, a much greater misfortune is, the Parliament itself is hardly worth

[39] Whitlocke, p. 587. [40] Goddard, Whitlocke, Letter in *Thurloe*.
[41] Dutch Ambassadors, French, &c., in *Thurloe*, ii. 606, 613, 638 (15th, 18th Sept.; 9th Oct.). See also Appendix, No. 28.

naming! It did not prove a successful Parliament;—it held-on by mere Constitution-building; and effected, so to speak, nothing. Respectable Pedant persons; never doubting but the Ancient sacred Sheepskins would serve for the New Time, which also has its sacredness; thinking, full surely, constitutional logic was the thing England now needed of them! Their History shall remain blank, to the end of the world. I have read their Debates, and counsel no other man to do it. Wholly upon the 'Institution of Government,' modelling, new-modelling of that: endless anxious spider-webs of constitutional logic; vigilant checks, constitutional jealousies, &c. &c. To be forgotten by all creatures.

They had a Committee of Godly Ministers sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber; a kind of miniature Assembly of Divines; intent upon 'Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters,' upon tender consciences, and the like objects: but there were only Twenty in this Assembly; they could hardly ever get fairly under way at all;—and have left in English History no trace that I could see of their existence, except a very reasonable Petition, noted in the Record, That the Parliament would be pleased to advance them a little money towards the purchase of fire and candle,—in these cold dark months. The Parliament, I hope, allowed them coals and a few tallow-lights; but neither they nor it could accomplish anything towards the Settling of a Godly Ministry in England: my Lord Protector and *his* Commissions will have to settle that too; an object dear to all good men. This Parliament spent its time in constitutional jangling, in vigilant contrivance of balances, checks, and that species of entities. With difficulty could, at rare intervals, a hasty stingy vote, not for the indispensable Supplies, but for some promise of them, be wrung from it. An unprofitable Parliament.

For the rest, they had Biddle the Socinian before them; a poor Gloucester Schoolmaster once, now a very conspicuous Heresiarch, apparently of mild but entirely obstinate manners, —poor devil: him they put into the Gatehouse; him and various others of that kidney. Especially 'Theauro John, who 'laid about him with a drawn sword at the door of the Parliament House one day,'[42]—a man clearly needing to be confined. 'Theauro John:' his name had originally been John Davy, if I

[42] Whitlocke, p. 592. See Goddard (in *Burton*, i. Introd. cxxvi.).

recollect; but the Spirit, in some preternatural hour, revealed to him that it ought to be as above. Poor Davy: his labours, life-adventures, financial arrangements, painful biography in general, are all unknown to us; till, on this 'Saturday 30th 'December 1654,' he very clearly 'knocks loud at the door of 'the Parliament House,' as much as to say, "What is this *you* are upon?" and 'lays about him with a drawn sword;'—after which all again becomes unknown. Seemingly a kind of Quaker. Does the reader know James Nayler, and the devout women worshipping him? George Fox, in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir, native 'Vale of Bever:' Do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke-pillars from these poor cottages under the eternal firmaments, say in one's heart, "George, canst thou do nothing for us? George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come?" George finds in the Vale of Bever 'a very tender people.' In fact, most singular Quakerisms, frightful Socinianisms, and other portents, are springing up rife in England.

Oliver objected, now and always, to any very harsh punishment of Biddle and Company, much as he abhorred their doctrines. Why burn, or brand, or otherwise torment them, poor souls? They, wandering as we all do seeking for a door of hope into the Eternities, have, being tempted of the Devil as we all likewise are, *missed* the door of hope; and gone tumbling into dangerous gulfs,—dangerous, but not yet beyond the mercy of God. Do not burn them. They meant, some of them, *well;* bear, visibly to me, the scars of stern true battle against the Enemy of Man. Do not burn them;—lock them up, that they may not mislead others. On frugal wholesome diet in Pendennis Castle, or Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, or here in the Clink Prison at London, they will not cost you much, and may arrive at some composure. Branding and burning is an ugly business;—as little of that as you can.

*Friday 29th September* 1654. His Highness, say the old Lumber-Books, went into Hyde Park; made a small picnic dinner under the trees, with Secretary Thurloe, attended by a few servants;—was, in fact, making a small pleasure excursion, having in mind to try a fine new team of horses, which the Earl or Duke of Oldenburg had lately sent him. Dinner done, his Highness himself determined to drive,—two in hand I think,

with a postillion driving other two. The horses, beautiful animals, tasting of the whip, became unruly; galloped, would not be checked, but took to plunging; plunged the postillion down; plunged or shook his Highness down, 'dragging him by the foot for some time,' so that 'a pistol went off in his pocket,' to the amazement of men. Whereupon? Whereupon—his Highness got up again, little the worse; was let blood; and went about his affairs much as usual![43] Small anecdote, that figures, larger than life, in all the Books and Biographies. I have known men thrown from their horses on occasion, and less noise made about it, my erudite friend! But the essential point was, his Highness wore a pistol.—Yes, his Highness is prepared to defend himself; has men, and has also truculent-flunkies, and devils and devil's-servants of various kinds, to defend himself against;—and wears pistols, and what other furniture outward and inward may be necessary for the object. Such of you as have an eye that way can take notice of it!—

*Thursday 16th November* 1654. On the other hand, what a glimpse into the interior domesticities of the Protector Household have we in the following brief Note! Amid the darkness and buzzard dimness, one light-beam, clear, radiant, mournfully beautiful, like the gleam of a sudden star, disclosing for a moment many things to us! On Friday, Secretary Thurloe writes incidentally: 'My Lord Protector's Mother, of Ninety-'four years old, died last night. A little before her death she 'gave my Lord her blessing, in these words: "The Lord cause 'His face to shine upon you; and comfort you in all your ad-'versities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of 'your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His People. 'My dear Son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!"'[44] —and therewith sank into her long sleep. Even so. Words of ours are but idle. Thou brave one, Mother of a Hero, farewell! —Ninety-four years old: the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, were of small moment to her: 'at the sound 'of a musket she would often be afraid her Son was shot; and 'could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least.'[45] She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory Pedant Parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, Roy-

[43] Thurloe, i. 652-3; Ludlow, ii. 508.
[44] Thurloe to Pell, 17th November 1654: in Vaughan's *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1839), i. 81.
[45] Ludlow, ii. 488.

alist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him, Be strong, be comforted in God. And so Good night! And in the still Eternities and divine Silences—Well, *are* they not divine?—

*December 26th*, 1654. The refractory Parliament and other dim confusions still going on, we mark as a public event of some significance, the sailing of his Highness's Sea-Armament. It has long been getting ready on the Southern Coast; sea-forces, land-forces; sails from Portsmouth on Christmas morrow, as above marked.[46]—None yet able to divine whither bound; not even the Generals, Venables and Penn, till they reach a certain latitude. Many are much interested to divine! Our Brussels Correspondent writes long since, 'The Lord Protector's Go-'vernment makes England more formidable and considerable 'to all Nations than ever it has been in my days.'[47]

## LETTERS CXCVI. CXCVII.

HERE are Two small Letters, harmlessly reminding us of far interests and of near;—otherwise yielding no new light; but capable of being read without commentary. Read them; and let us hasten to dissolve the poor Constitutioning Parliament, which ought not to linger on these pages, or on any page.

### LETTER CXCVI.

*To Richard Bennet, Esq., Governor of Virginia: These.*

SIR, Whitehall, 12th January 1654.

Whereas the differences between the Lord Baltimore and the Inhabitants of Virginia, concerning the Bounds by them respectively claimed, are depending before our Council, and yet undetermined; and whereas we are credibly informed, you have notwithstanding gone into his

[46] Penn's Narrative, in *Thurloe*, iv. 28. [47] Thurloe, i. 160 (11th March 1653-4).

Plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing the Lord Baltimore's Officers; whereby, and with other forces from Virginia, you have much disturbed that Colony and People, to the endangering of tumults and much bloodshed there, if not timely prevented:

We therefore, at the request of the Lord Baltimore, and 'of' divers other Persons of Quality here, who are engaged by great adventures in his interest, do, for preventing of disturbances or tumults there, will and require you, and all others deriving any authority from you, To forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his Officers or People in Maryland; and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you, till the said Differences above mentioned be determined by us here, and we give farther order therein. We rest your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

Commissioners, it would appear, went out to settle the business; got it, we have no doubt, with due difficulty settled. See Letter CCIII.,—26th September 1655, 'To the Commissioners of Maryland.'

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## LETTER CXCVII.

HERE again, while the Pedant Parliament keeps arguing and constitutioning, are discontents in the Army that threaten to develop themselves. Dangerous fermentings of Fifth-Monarchy and other bad ingredients, in the Army and out of it; encouraged by the Parliamentary height of temperature. Charles Stuart, on the word of a Christian King, is extensively bestirring himself. Royalist preparations, provisions of arms; Anabaptist Petitions: abroad and at home very dangerous designs on foot: but we have our eye upon them.

* Thurloe, i. 724. The Signature only is Oliver's; signature, and sense. Thurloe has jotted on the back of this: 'A duplicate also hereof was writ, signed by his Highness.'

The Scotch Army seems, at present, the questionablest. 'The pay of the men is thirty weeks in arrear,' for one thing; the Anabaptist humour needs not that addition! Colonel Alured, we saw, had to be dismissed the Service last year; Overton and others were questioned, and not dismissed. But now some desperate scheme has risen among the Forces in Scotland, of deposing General Monk, of making Republican Overton Commander,—and so marching off, all but the indispensable Garrison-troops, south into England, *there* to seek pay and other redress.[1] This Parliament, now in its Fourth Month, supplies no money; nothing but constitutional debatings. My Lord Protector had need be watchful! He again, in this December, summons Overton from Scotland; again questions him;—sees good, this time, to commit him to the Tower,[2] and end his military services. The Army, in Scotland and elsewhere, with no settlement yet to its vague fermenting humours, and not even money to pay its arrears, is dangerous enough.

Of Adjutant-General Allen whom this Letter concerns, it may be proper to say that Ludlow in mentioning him has mistaken his man. The reader recollects, a good while ago, Three Troopers, notable at the moment, who appeared once before the Long Parliament, with a Petition from the Army, in the year Forty-seven? Their names were Allen, Sexby, Sheppard: Ludlow will have it, the Trooper Allen was this Adjutant-General Allen;[3] which is a mistake of Ludlow's. Trooper Sexby we did since see, as Captain Sexby, after Preston Fight; and shall again, in sad circumstances see: but of Trooper Allen there is no farther vestige anywhere except this imaginary one; of Trooper Sheppard not even an imaginary vestige. They have vanished, these two; and Adjutant-General Allen, vindicating his identity such as it is, enters here on his own footing. A resolute devout man, whom we have seen before; the same who was deep in the Prayer-Meeting at Windsor years ago:[4] this is his third, and we hope his last appearance on the stage of things.

[1] Postea, Speech IV.; and Thurloe, iii. 110, &c.

[2] 16th January 1654-5 (Overton's Letter, *Thurloe*, iii. 110).

[3] Ludlow, i. 189: 'Edward Sexby,' 'William Allen;' but in the name of the third Trooper, which is not 'Philips' but *Sheppard*, he is mistaken (*Commons Journals*, 30th April 1647); and as to 'Adjutant-General Allen' and the impossibility of his identity with this William Allen, see vol. i. pp. 236, 286.

[4] Vol. i. p. 286.

Allen has been in Ireland, since that Prayer-Meeting; in Ireland and elsewhere, resolutely fighting, earnestly praying, as from of old; has had many darkenings of mind; expects, for almost a year past, 'little good from the Governments of this world,' one or the other. He has honoured, and still would fain honour, 'the Person now in chief place,' having seen in him much 'uprightheartedness to the Lord;' must confess, however, 'the late Change hath more stumbled me than any ever did;'—and, on the whole, knows not what he will resolve upon.[5] We find he has resolved on quitting Ireland, for one thing; has come over to 'his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's in Devonshire:'—and, to all appearance, is not building established-churches there! 'Captain Unton Crook,' of whom we shall hear afterwards, is an active man, son of a learned Lawyer;[6] very zealous for the Protector's interest;—zealous for his own and his Father's promotion, growls Ludlow. Desborow, who fitted-out the late mysterious Sea-Armament on the Southern Coast (not too judiciously, I doubt), is Commander-in-chief in those parts.

'*For Captain Unton Crook, at Exeter: These.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 20th January 1654.

Being informed by a Letter of yours and General Desborow, also by a Letter from the High Sheriff of Devon, that Adjutant-General Allen doth very ill offices by multiplying dissatisfaction in the minds of men to the present Government, I desire you and the High Sheriff to make diligent inquiry after him, and try to make-out what can be made in this kind, and to give me speedy notice thereof. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest your loving friend, OLIVER P.

If he be gone out of the Country, learn whither he is gone, and send me word by next post.*

[5] Two intercepted Letters of Allen's (Thurloe, ii. 214-5), 'Dublin, 6th April 1654.'

[6] Made Sergeant Crook in 1655 (Heath, p. 693).

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 102. Superscription torn off;—only the Signature is in Oliver's hand: Address supplied here by inference.

Allen was not gone out of the Country; he was seized by Crook 'in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's house,' on the 31st of January 1654-5; his papers searched, and himself ordered to be and continue prisoner, at a place agreed upon,—Sand in Somersetshire,—'under his note of hand.' So much we learn from the imbroglios of *Thurloe*;[7] where also are authentic Depositions concerning Allen, 'by Captains John Copleston and the said Unton Crook;' and two Letters of Allen's own,—one to the Protector; and one to 'Colonel Daniel Axtel' (the Regicide Axtel), 'Dr. Philip Carteret, or either of them,' enclosing that other Letter, and leaving it to them to present it or not, he himself thinking earnestly that they should. Both of these Letters, as well as Unton Crook's to the Protector, and the authentic Deposition of Copleston and Crook against Allen, are dated February 7th, 1654-5.

The witnesses depose,[8] That he has bragged to one 'Sir John Davis Baronet,' of an interview he had with the Protector not long since,—wherein he, Allen, told the Protector a bit of his mind; and left him in a kind of huff, and even at a nonplus; and so came off to the West Country in a triumphant manner. Farther he talks questionable things of Ireland, of discontents there, and in laud of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; says, There is plenty of discontent in Ireland; he himself means to be there in February, but will first go to London again. The Country rings with rumour of his questionable speeches. He goes to 'meetings' about Bristol, whither many persons convene,—for Anabaptist or other purposes. Such meetings are often on week-days. Questionabler still, he rides thither 'with a vizard or mask over his face;' 'with glasses over his eyes,' —barnacles, so to speak! Nay, questionablest of all, riding, 'on Friday the 5th of last month,' month of January 1654-5, 'to a meeting at Luppit near Honiton, Devon,' there rode also (but not I think to the same place!) a Mr. Hugh Courtenay, once a flaming Royalist Officer in Ireland, and still a flaming zealot to the lost Cause; who spake nothing all that afternoon but mere treason, of Anabaptists that would rise in London, of &c. &c. Allen, as we say, on the last morning of January was awoke from sleep in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's, by the entrance of two armed troopers; who informed him that Captain

[7] iii. 143; see pp. 140-1.

[8] Thurloe, iii. 140.

Crook and the High Sheriff were below, and that he would have to put-on his clothes, and come down.

Allen's Letter to the Lord Protector, from Sand in Somersetshire, we rather reluctantly withhold, for want of room. A stubborn, sad, stingily respectful piece of writing: Wife and baby terribly ill off at Sand; desires to be resigned to the Lord, 'before whom both of us shall ere long nakedly appear;'—petitions that at least he might be allowed 'to attend ordinances;' which surely would be reasonable! Are there not good horses that require to be ridden with a dexterous bridle-hand,—delicate, and yet hard and strong? Clearly a strenuous Anabaptist, this Allen; a rugged, true-hearted, not easily governable man; given to Fifth-Monarchy and other notions, though with a strong head to control them. Fancy him duly cashiered from the Army, duly admonished and dismissed into private life. Then add the Colonel Overtons and Colonel Alureds, and General Ludlows and Major-General Harrisons, and also the Charles Stuarts and Christian Kings;—and reflect once more what kind of task this of my Lord Protector's is, and whether he needs refractory Pedant Parliaments to worsen it for him!

## SPEECH IV.

FINDING this Parliament was equal to nothing in the Spiritual way but tormenting of poor Heretics, receiving Petitions for a small advance towards coal and candle; and nothing in the Temporal but constitutional air-fabrics and vigilant checkings and balancings,—under which operations such precious fruits at home and abroad were ripening,—Oliver's esteem for this Parliament gradually sank to a marked degree. Check, check,—like maladroit ship-carpenters hammering, adzing, sawing at the Ship of the State, instead of diligently caulking and paying it; idly gauging and computing, nay recklessly tearing-up and remodelling;—when the poor Ship could hardly keep the water as yet, and the Pirates and Sea-Krakens were gathering round! All which most dangerous, not to say half-frantic operations, the Lord Protector discerning well, and swallowing

in silence as his hest was,—had for a good while kept his eye upon the Almanac, with more and more impatience for the arrival of the Third of February. That will be the first deliverance of the poor labouring Commonwealth, when at the end of Five Months we send these Parliament philosophers home to their Countries again. Five Months by the Instrument they have to sit ;—O fly, lazy Time ; it is yet but Four Months and —— Somebody suggested, Is not the Soldier-month counted by Four Weeks ? Eight-and-twenty days are a Soldier's Month : they have, in a sense, already sat five months, these vigilant Honourable Gentlemen !

Oliver Protector, on Monday morning, 22d of January 1654-5, surprises the Constitutioning Parliament with a message to attend him in the Painted Chamber, and leave 'Settling of the Government' for a while. They have yet voted no Supplies ; nor meant to vote any. They thought themselves very safe till February 3d, at soonest. But my Lord Protector, from his high place, speaks, and dissolves.

Speech Fourth, 'printed by Henry Hills, Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector,' is the only one of these Speeches concerning the reporting, printing or publishing of which there is any visible charge or notice taken by the Government of the time. It is ordered in this instance, by the Council of State, That nobody except Henry Hills or those appointed by him shall presume to print or reprint the present Speech, or any part of it. Perhaps an official precaution considered needful ; perhaps also only a matter of copyright ; for the Order is so worded as not to indicate which. At all events, there is no trace of the Report having been anywhere interfered with ; which seems altogether a spontaneous one ; probably the product of Rushworth or some such artist.[1]

The Speech, if read with due intensity, can be understood ; and what is equally important, be believed ; nay, be found to contain in it a manful, great and valiant meaning,—in tone and manner very resolute, yet very conciliatory ; intrinsically not ignoble but noble. For the rest, it is, as usual, sufficiently incondite in phrase and conception ; the hasty outpouring of a mind which is *full* of such meanings. Somewhat difficult to read. Practical Heroes, unfortunately, as we once said, do not speak in blank-verse ; their trade does not altogether admit of

[1] See *Burton's Diary*.

that! Useless to look here for a Greek Temple with its porticoes and entablatures, and *styles*. But the Alp Mountain, with its chasms and cataracts and shaggy pine-forests, and huge granite masses rooted in the Heart of the World: this too is worth looking at, to some. I can give the reader little help; but will advise him to try.

GENTLEMEN,

I perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces which are in a great measure known to me. [*Doubtless we are here, your Highness!*]

When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt-up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of,—though not of the greatest,—yet a very great 'People;' and the best People in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought 'it' so: as a People that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely Religion: as a People that have been, like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other Nations:—and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God [*Hah!*]; God having, as it were, summed-up all our former honour and glory in the things that *are* of glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within these Ten or Twelve years last past! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived,—as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think,—at a very safe port; where we might sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of God and our Mercies; and might know our Mercies not to have been like to those of the Ancients,—who did make-out their peace and prosperity, as

they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, That all ours were let-down to us from God Himself! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any Story. [*Deep silence; from the old Parliament, and from us.*] Truly this was our condition. And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David: "The "things which we have heard and known, and our fathers "have told us, we will not hide them from our children; "showing to the generation to come the praises of the "Lord, and His strength, and His wonderful works that "He hath done. For He established a Testimony in Jacob, "and appointed a Law in Israel; which He commanded "our fathers that they should make known to their chil-"dren; that the generation to come might know them, even "the children which should be born, who should arise and "declare them to *their* children: that they might set their "hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep "His commandments."[2]

This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might happily have invited them, —had you had hearts unto it. [*Alas!*] You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are true! [*No response from the Moderns: mere silence, stupor, not without sadness.*] This talent was put into your hands. And I shall recur to that which I said at the first: I came with very great joy and contentment and comfort, the first time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment!—If I had proposed to have played the Orator,—which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall [*Hear!*],—I doubt not but

[2] Psalm lxxviii. 3-7.

upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here: and I confess, at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes; though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you that the 'then' management of affairs did savour of a Not owning,—too-too much savour, I say, of a Not owning of the Authority that called you hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility — Shall I say possibility? It seemed to me a probability,—of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction. And therefore by that Recognition [*The Parchment we had to sign: Hum-m!*], suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither; to which afterwards was also added your own Declaration,[3] conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient:—thereby, 'I say,' you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been if everything had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed,—you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes,—I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes;[4] and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time for better deliberations;—whereby leaving the

[3] *Commons Journals* (vii. 368), 14th Sept. 1654.
[4] Characteristic sentence, and sentiment;— not to be meddled with.

Government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you, and might have answered the Grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: for which you would have had thanks from all that intrusted you. [*Doubtful "Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.*]

What hath happened since that time I have not taken public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, That from your entering into the House upon the Recognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself,—to this very day 'none.' You see you have me very much locked up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. ["*None dare report us, or whisper what we do.*"] But some things I shall take liberty to speak of to you.

As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you That I do not know what you have been doing! [*With a certain tone; as one may hear!*] I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine!—If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them,—why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long as any just patience could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issue of your consultations and resolutions.—I have

been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.—

But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your recognising the Government in the authority of which you were called hither and sat, To give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this. [*Old Parliament dubiously rolls its eyes.*]—I say, I have been caring for *you*, for your quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these Nations. I have been consulting if possibly I might, in anything, promote, in my place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you.

But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat,—which, I fear, I fear, will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put upon *you;* whilst you have been employed as you have been, and,—in all that time expressed in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government,—have brought forth nothing that you yourselves say *can* be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges![5] I will tell

[5] An embarrassed sentence; characteristic of his Highness. "You have done "nothing noticeable upon this 'Somewhat' that I am about to speak of,—nor, indeed,

you somewhat, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees: There be some that choose,—a man may say so by way of allusion,—to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven,—I will not say what you have *cherished*, under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement,—instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by 'your' reconciling the Honest People of these Nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us; which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians to have proposed,—weeds and nettles, briers and thorns have thriven under your shadow! Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction; together with real dangers to the whole,—have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before! Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these Nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp: for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the enemies of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these Nations,—which 'products' I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of briers and thorns,—*they* have nourished

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"it seems upon *any* Somewhat;—and *this* was one you may, without much 'interpretation,' be blamed for doing nothing upon." 'Government' means *Instrument of Government:* 'the time expressed' therein is *Five Months*,—now, by my way of calculating it, expired! Which may account for the embarrassed iteration of the phrase, on his Highness's part.

themselves under your shadow! [*Old Parliament looks still more uneasy.*]

And that I may clearly be understood: They have taken their opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up and conclude that there would be no Settlement; and they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly. Now whether,—which appertains not to me to judge of, on their behalf,—they had any occasion ministered for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any scrutiny or search. But I will say this: I think they had it not from me. I am sure they had not 'from me.' From whence they had, is not my business now to discourse: but *that* they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparations they have made, to be executed in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity from: that I know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable knowledge. That they have been for some time past furnishing themselves with arms; nothing doubting but they should have a day for it; and verily believing that, whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I desire to be understood That, in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind,—as I have not,—to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact: but 'that' the things I am telling of are fact; things of evident demonstration.

These weeds, briers and thorns,—they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sittings and proceedings. ["*Hum-m-m!*"] But by the Waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they

have been, and yet are, disappointed. [*Yea!*] And having mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause,—let me speak a few words in behalf thereof; though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, It is *non Causa pro Causâ*, 'a Cause without Cause,'—the All-searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man; and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God nor the operations of His hands! [*Moderns look astonished.*] For which God hath threatened that He will cast men down, and not build them up. That 'man who,' because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the Cause began, nor where it is; but modelleth it according to his own intellect; and submits not to the Appearances of God in the World; and therefore lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all His providences; laughing at the observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to these other;—calling such observations "enthusiasms:" such men, I say, no wonder if they "stumble and fall backwards, and be broken and snared and taken,"[6] by the things of which they are so wilfully and maliciously ignorant! The Scriptures say, "The Rod has a voice, and "He will make Himself known by the judgments which He "executeth." And do we not think He will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which He hath for His People and their just liberties; "whom He loves as the apple of His eye"? Doth He not by them manifest Himself? And is He not thereby also seen giving kingdoms for them, "giving men for them, and people for their lives,"—as it is in Isaiah Forty-third?[7] Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speaking, as anything our dark rea-

[6] Isaiah, xxviii. 13. A text that had made a great impression upon Oliver: see Letter to the General Assembly, vol. iii. p. 19.

[7] Isaiah, xliii. 3, 4: Another prophecy of awful moment to his Highness: see Speech I. vol. iii. p. 223.

son, left to the letter of the Scriptures, can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on behalf of His People, by judging their enemies in the late War, and restoring them a liberty to worship, with the freedom of their consciences, and freedom in estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have found the Cause of God by the works of God; which are the testimony of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer shipwreck. But it is your glory,—and it is mine, if I have any in the world concerning the Interest of those that have an interest in a better world,—it is my glory that I know a Cause which yet we have *not* lost; but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose! [*Hah!*]—But you will excuse this long digression.——

I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of these Transactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party,—I could wish some of them had thrust-in here, to have heard what I say,—have been designing and preparing to put this Nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that. Only this I must tell you: They have been making great preparations of arms; and I do believe it will be made evident to you that they have raked-out many thousands of arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers months last past. But it will be said, "May we not arm ourselves for the defence of our houses? Will anybody find fault for that?" Not for that. But the reason for *their* doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so. For which I hope, by the justice of the land, some will, in the face of the Nation, answer it with their lives: and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.—Banks of money have been framing, for these and other suchlike uses. Letters have been issued with Privy-seals, to as great Persons as most are

in the Nation, for the advance of money,—which 'Letters' have been discovered to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for Regiments of horse and foot, and command of Castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that Party have been, the Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, all 'disease' will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole: and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in that person on whomsoever this befalls. So likewise will *these* diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers,—as much as would have been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass,—in respect of which I shall give you a particular account,—that no mortal physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's account: That if He had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive!

And what is all this? 'What are these new diseases that have gathered to this point?' Truly I must needs still say: "A company of men like briers and thorns;" and worse, if worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned to you. These also have been and yet are endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. [*Anabaptist Levellers.*] And I must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand

of a man than of a stripling,—which shows there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls: so it is some satisfaction if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts! That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, "when they oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain." Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done? I hope, though they pretend "Commonwealth's Interest," they have had no encouragement from you; but have, as in the former case, rather taken it than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing. 'Any cause' from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours; which I hope did abuse you! But thus you see that, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you; and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

"What these men have done?" They also have laboured to pervert, where they could, and as they could, the Honest-meaning People of the Nation. They have laboured to engage some in the Army:—and I doubt that not only they, but some others also, very well known to you, have helped to this work of debauching and dividing the Army. They have, they have! [*Overton, Allen and Company, your Highness?*] I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How? much more loath to say they were any of your own number. But I can say: Endeavours have been 'made' to put the Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the Army. Which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and

the stopping of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided.—What if I am able to make it appear in fact, That some amongst you have run into the City of London, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing your own Votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favour of your Liberties, or tended to beget hopes of Peace and Settlement from you; and whether debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon Free-quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there; and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge!

This I tell you also: That the correspondence held with the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called Levellers, who call themselves Commonwealth's-men, 'is in our hands.' Whose Declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their 'projected' common Rising; whereof, 'I say,' we are possessed; and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement:—whether these humours have not nourished themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse; and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. [*His Highness looks animated!*] And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden opportunities which God had put into your hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these things were thus, or not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout

these Nations; and great expectations of a happy Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning in my Speech; and hoped that you would have entered on your business as you found it. [*"Hum-m-m! We had a Constitution to make!"*]

There was a Government 'already' in the possession of the People,—I say a Government in the possession of the People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near Fifteen Months: and if it were needful that I should tell you *how* it came into their possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His providence after Twelve Years War; and sealed and witnessed unto by the People,—I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech unto you in this place: and therefore I forbear. When you were entered upon this Government; ravelling into it—You know I took no notice what you were doing—[*Nor will now, your Highness; let the Sentence drop!*]—If you had gone upon that foot of account, To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations 'as were wanted;' for the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet 'as' would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments,—'to' men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower,—I say

you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing Godliness; and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all judgments from running one upon another; and by keeping them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, 'have' rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and well satisfied. [*And the Constitution? Hum-m-m!*]

Are these things done; or any things towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For 'indeed' Religion was not the thing at first contested for 'at all:'[8] but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this more than In obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses [*Our poor brethren of New England!*]; and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they 'themselves' laboured, but lately, under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed

[8] Power of the Militia was the point upon which the actual War began. A statement not false; yet truer in form than it is in essence.

by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands!—As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners; persons of loose conversation,—punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural lights, —they are judged of all. And their sins being open, make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.—The discipline of the Army *was* such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these.—

And therefore how happy would England have been, and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was well provided for by the 'Instrument of' Government; and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this Government hath been profitable expense of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing!—I will say this to you, in behalf of the Long Parliament: That, had such an expedient as this Government been proposed to them; and could they have seen the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates, enlightened in the grounds 'of it,' whereby the difficulties might have been cleared 'to them,' and the reason of the whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons,

with the temper and disposition of the People, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might have been well weighed 'by them:' I think in my conscience, —well as they were thought to love their seats,—they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done! And *not* have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards they now are at; nor given occasion to leave the People so dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a questioning, but a doing of things in pursuance of the 'Instrument of' Government. And if I be not misinformed, very many of you came up with this satisfaction; having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say "such an expedient as this Government,"—wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these Nations provided for,—I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an averment, 'I forbear at present.' For satisfaction's sake herein, enough is said in a Book entituled '*A State of the Case of the Commonwealth*,' published in January 1653.[9] And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the People of God in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned. And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them,—it had been huge friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in so great concernments to the public, for *them* to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay! Of which I never yet had a word from you! But

[9] Read it he who wants satisfaction: 'Printed by Thomas Newcomb, London, 1653-4;'—'wrote with great spirit of language and subtilty of argument,' says the *Parliamentary History* (xx. 419).

if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else, upon another bottom than this stands 'upon,'—it looks as if the laying grounds for a *quarrel* had rather been designed than to give the People *settlement*. If it be thus, it's *well* your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all! [*Old Parliament looks agitated;—agitated, yet constant!*]

This Government called you hither; the constitution thereof being limited so,—a Single Person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the Nation;—having had experience enough, by trial, of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of Democracy on the other;—and yet not to found *Dominium in Gratiâ* 'either.' [*Your Highness does not claim to be here as Kings do, By Grace, then? No!*] And if so, then certainly to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in this 'Frame of' Government; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not equal? And what their judgment is, is visible,—by submission to it; by acting upon it; by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any better ratification! [*Hear!*] But when Trustees in Parliament shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this 'Frame of' Government, 'a question' referred by the Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament,—of which evil or evils Time itself will be the best discoverer:—how can it be reasonably imagined that a Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the People's good, and to make *their* love, under God, the best underpropping and only safe foot-

ing:—how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the Government as may be found to be for the good of the People? Or to recede from anything which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the Single Person? And although, for the present, the keeping-up and having in his power the Militia seems the hardest 'condition,' yet if the power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause (now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was to *get* it 'for the sake of this Cause:'—what would become of us all! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up *at any time*,—it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves; from imposing what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the Nation *shall* happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded! And then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus stated?—What if I should say: If there *be* a disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand!—

And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me known your grounds! I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to *you*. And I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual conviction. Was there none amongst

you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to Town-talk, such things *have* been proposed; and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for myself; and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it; and I have the witness 'too' of divers here, who I think truly 'would' scorn to own me in a lie: That I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced. Although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands; namely, the acceptance and consent of the People. [*"Our sanction not needed, then!"*]

I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures. But I must tell you this: That as I undertook this Government in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest, —which in my conscience 'I think' is dear to many of you; though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom may hide from us, as to Peace and Settlement:—so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Government,[10] offered me this one, this one thing,—I speak as thus advised, and before God; as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak:—if, 'I say,' this one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the Government should have been placed in my Family here-

[10] Means 'the existing Instrument of Government' without modification of yours.

ditarily, I would have rejected it![11] And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason;—though I cannot tell what God *will* do with me, nor with you, nor with the Nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

This hath been my principle; and I liked it, when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath declared what Government He delivered to the Jews; and 'that He' placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His People. And considering that Promise in *Isaiah*, "That God would "give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the begin-"ning," I did not know but that God might 'now' begin,—and though, at present, with a most unworthy person; yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner; and I thought this might usher it in! [*A noble thought, your Highness!*] I am speaking as to my judgment against making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for their love to God, and to Truth and Justice; and not to have it hereditary. For as it is in the *Ecclesiastes:* "Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man?" Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, on that plan; because the Government is made a patrimony!—And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness; as being my own concernment;—and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People in the Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

I have thus told you my thoughts; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and

[11] The matter in debate, running very high at this juncture, in the Parliament, was with regard to the Single Person's being *hereditary*. Hence partly the Protector's emphasis here.

rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking;—especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty; 'so' that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I can rejoice.

Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I told you that I came with joy the first time; with some regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of all! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay-down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay-down my life for you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me; 'this of speaking these things to you.' I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this; casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally, This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned; as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. 'Sitting thus long;' and what have you brought forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would be loath to call it a Fate; that were too paganish a word. But there hath been Something in it that we had not in our expectations.

I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this Nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of Necessity in that great business of raising of Money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them

are general, some are more special. [*Hear the "dilemmas."*] Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. [*Hear!*] If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. [*Yea!*] If it be of man, it will tumble; as everything that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our Histories, and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down and trampled upon, everything that He had not planted? [*Yes, your Highness; such is, was and forever will be, the History of Man, deeply as we poor Moderns have now forgotten it: and the Bible of every Nation is its Own History; if it have, or had, any real Bible!*] And as this is, so 'let' the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the Births of Providence,—then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good,—He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing To raise Money without Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have another argument to the Good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity? That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing of the Lord: and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them: those Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. 'His,' though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth in the hearts of His People. And the People being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel Liberty.

But if any man shall object, "It is an easy thing to talk "of Necessities when men create Necessities: would not "the Lord Protector make himself great and his family "great? Doth not he make these Necessities? And then "he will come upon the People with his argument of Ne-"cessity!"—This were something hard indeed. But I have *not* yet known what it is to "make Necessities," whatsoever the thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth not who can come to me and charge me with having, in these great Revolutions, "made Necessities." I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, "My glory I will not give unto another," let men take heed and be twice advised how they call His Revolutions, the things of God, and His working of things from one period to another,—how, I say, they call them Necessities of men's creation! For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not

give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and events have not been forecast; but 'were' sudden Providences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged; and under and at which, many, and I fear some good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have been the wise disposings of the Almighty; though instruments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to ourselves; it's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the Earth!

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolutions; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear. If you would consider[12] the great Hand of God in His great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

[12] 'if that you would revolve' in orig.

"It was," say some, "the cunning of the Lord Protec-
"tor,"—I take it to myself,—"it was the craft of such a
"man, and his plot, that hath brought it about!" And, as they say in other countries, "There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things." Oh, what blasphemy is this! Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God,—who speaks without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty, nay is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony? And there we shall find that there *have* been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received,—except we will exclude the Spirit; without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. [*Yea, your Highness; the true God's-Voice, Voice of the Eternal, is in the heart of every Man;—there, wherever else it be.*] He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men; and leadeth them to His Law and Testimony, and there 'also' He speaks to them: and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: "God "speaketh once, yea twice;" and to that of David: "God "hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this." These men that live upon their *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus* [*Bulstrode looks astonished*], their Masses and Service-books, their dead and carnal worship,—no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because *they* say and believe thus, must we do so too? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed; even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God.

To say that men bring forth these things when God

doth them,—judge you if God will bear this? I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these! According to the Tenth of the *Hebrews:* "If we sin wilfully after that we have received "the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacri- "fice for sin." 'A terrible word.' It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ, apostatised from Him. What then? Nothing but a fearful "falling into the hands of the Living God!"—They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us; and 'fancy' that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ Himself, "upon whose shoulders the government is laid,"—they speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His works in the world; by which He rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength,—we provoke the Mediator: and He may say: I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God!—Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, "This is cunning, and politic, and subtle,"—take heed again, I say, how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's inventions!—I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea repining at God Himself. And no wonder; considering the Lord hath done

such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us!—

There is another Necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men,—if I shall 'now' raise money according to the Article in the Government, 'whether I am not compelled to do it!' Which 'Government' had power to call you hither; and did;—and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the Government, and the Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope, this was not in your minds. I am not willing to judge so:—but such is the state into which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible,—through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences,—to march for England out of Scotland; and, in discontent, to seize their General there [*General Monk*], a faithful and honest man, that so another [*Colonel Overton*] might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether will this be a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but "The Army "are in discontent already; and we will make them live "upon stones; we will make them cast-off their governors "and discipline"? What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other [*Building Constitutions*], and pretending liberty and many good words,—whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident

you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or other Counties; but I believe they will all think *they are not safe.* A temporary suspension of "caring for the greatest liberties and privileges" (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my "liberty" to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire!—

I have troubled you with a long Speech; and I believe it may not have the same resentment[13] with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God;—and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations for their safety and good in every respect,—I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these Nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament.*

So ends the First Protectorate Parliament; suddenly, very unsuccessfully. A most poor hidebound Pedant Parliament; which reckoned itself careful of the Liberties of England; and was careful only of the Sheepskin Formulas of these; very blind to the Realities of these! Regardless of the facts and clamorous necessities of the Present, this Parliament considered that its one duty was to tie-up the hands of the Lord Protector well; to give him no supplies, no power; to make him and keep him the bound vassal and errand-man of this and succeeding Parliaments. This once well done, they thought all was done:—Oliver thought far otherwise. Their painful new-modelling and rebuilding of the Instrument of Government, with an eye to this sublime object, was pointing towards completion, little

[13] Means 'sense excited by it.'

* Old Pamphlet: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 404-431.

now but the key-stones to be let in :—when Oliver suddenly withdrew the centres ! Constitutional arch and ashlar-stones, scaffolding, workmen, mortar-troughs and scaffold-poles sink in swift confusion; and disappear, regretted or remembered by no person,—not by this Editor for one.

By the arithmetical account of heads in England, the Lord Protector may surmise that he has lost his Enterprise. But by the real divine and human worth of thinking-souls in England, he still believes that he has it ; by this, and by a higher mission too;—and "will take a little pleasure to lose his life" before he loses it ! He is not here altogether to count heads, or to count costs, this Lord Protector; he is in the breach of battle ; placed there, as he understands, by his Great Commander : whatsoever his difficulties be, he must fight them, cannot quit them ; must fight there till he die. This is the law of his position, in the eye of God, and also of men. There is no return for him out of this Protectorship he has got into ! Called to this post as I have been, placed in it as I am, "To quit it, is what I "will be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with "infamy, before I will consent unto !"—

# PART NINTH.

## THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

1655-1656.

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### CHRONOLOGICAL.

THE Plots and perils to the Commonwealth which my Lord Protector spoke of to his honourable Members, were not an imagination, but a very tragic reality. Under the shadow of this Constitutioning Parliament strange things had been ripening: without some other eye than the Parliament's, Constitution and Commonwealth in general had been, by this time, in a bad way! A universal rising of Royalists combined with Anabaptists is in a real state of progress. Dim meetings there have been of Royalist Gentlemen, on nocturnal moors, in this quarter and in that, 'with cart-loads of arms,'—terrified at their own jingle, and rapidly dispersing again till the grand hour come. Anabaptist Levellers have had dim meetings, dim communications; will prefer Charles Stuart himself to the traitor Oliver, who has dared to attempt actual 'governing' of men. Charles Stuart has come down to Middleburg, on the Dutch coast, to be in readiness; 'Hyde is cock-sure.'[1] From the dreary old *Thurloes*, and rubbish-continents, of Spy Letters, Intercepted Letters, Letters of Intelligence; where, scattered at huge intervals, the History of England for those years still lies entombed, it is manifest enough what a winter and spring this was in England. A Protector left without supplies, obliged to cut his Parliament adrift, and front the matter alone; England,

[1] Manning's Letter, in *Thurloe*, iii. 384

from end to end of it, ripe for an explosion; for a universal blazing-up of all the heterogeneous combustibilities it had; the Sacred Majesty waiting at Middleburg, and Hyde cock-sure!

Nevertheless it came all to nothing;—there being a Protector in it. The Protector, in defect of Parliaments, issued his own Ordinance, the best he could, for payment of old rates and taxes; which, as the necessity was evident, and the sum fixed upon was low, rather lower than had been expected, the Country quietly complied with. Indispensable supply was obtained: and as for the Plots, the Protector had long had his eye on them, had long had his nooses round them;—the Protector strangled them everywhere at the moment suitablest for him, and lodged the ringleaders of them in the Tower. Let us, as usual, try to extricate a few small elucidative facts from the hideous old Pamphletary Imbroglio, where facts and figments, ten thousand facts of no importance to one fact of some, lie mingled, like the living with the dead, in noisome darkness all of them: once extricated, they may assist the reader's fancy a little. Of Oliver's own in reference to this period, too characteristic a period to be omitted, there is little or nothing left us: a few detached Letters, hardly two of them very significant of Oliver; which cannot avail us much, but shall be inserted at their due places.

*February 12th*, 1654-5. News came this afternoon that Major John Wildman, chief of the *frantic* Anabaptist Party, upon whom the Authorities have had their eye of late, has been seized at Exton, near Marlborough, in Wilts; 'by a party of Major Butler's horse.' In his furnished lodging; 'in a room upstairs;' his door stood open: stepping softly up, the troopers found him leaning on his elbow, dictating to his clerk 'A De-'claration of the free and well-affected People of England now 'in Arms' (or shortly to be in Arms) 'against the Tyrant Oliver 'Cromwell:'[2] a forcible piece, which can still be read, but only as a fragment, the zealous Major never having had occasion to finish it. They carried him to Chepstow Castle; locked him up there: and the free and well-affected People of England never got to Arms against the Tyrant, but were only in hopes of getting. Wildman was in the last Parliament; but could not sign the Recognition; went away in virtuous indignation,

[2] Whitlocke, p. 599; *Cromwelliana*, p. 151.

to act against the Tyrant by stratagem henceforth. He has been the centre of an extensive world of Plots this winter, as his wont from of old was: the mainspring of Royalist Anabaptistry, what we call the *frantic* form of Republicanism, which hopes to attain its object by assisting even Charles Stuart against the Tyrant Oliver. A stirring man; very flamy and very fuliginous: perhaps, since Freeborn John was sealed-up in Jersey, the noisiest man in England. The turning of the key on him in Chepstow will be a deliverance to us henceforth.

We take his capture as the termination of the Anabaptist-Royalist department of the Insurrection. Thurloe has now got all the threads of this Wildman business in his hand: the ringleaders are laid in prison, Harrison, Lord Grey of Groby and various others; kept there out of harm's way; dealt with in a rigorous, yet gentle, and what we must call great and manful manner. It is remarked of Oliver that none of this Party was ever brought to trial: his hope and wish was always that they might yet be reconciled to him. Colonel Sexby, once Captain Sexby, Trooper Sexby, our old acquaintance, one of Wildman's people,—has escaped on this occasion: better for himself had he been captured now, and saved from still madder courses he got into.

*Sunday March 11th*, 1654-5, in the City of Salisbury, about midnight, there occurs a thing worth noting. What may be called the general outcome of the Royalist department of the Insurrection. This too over England generally has, in all quarters where it showed itself, found some 'Major Butler' with due 'troops of horse' to seize it, to trample it out, and lay the ringleaders under lock and key. Hardly anywhere could it get the length of fighting: too happy if it could but gallop and hide. In Yorkshire, there was some appearance, and a few shots fired; but to no effect: poor Sir Henry Slingsby, and a Lord Malevrier, and others were laid hold of here; of whom the Lord escaped by stratagem; and poor Sir Henry lies prisoner in Hull,—where it will well behove him to keep quiet if he can! But on the Sunday night above mentioned, peaceful Salisbury is awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, 'a jolly knight' of those parts, once a Royalist Colonel; he with Squire or Colonel Penruddock, 'a gentleman of fair fortune,' Squire or Major Grove, also of some fortune, and about Two-hundred others, did actually rendezvous in arms about the

big Steeple that Sunday night, and ring a loud alarm in those parts.

It was Assize time; the Judges had arrived the day before. Wagstaff seizes the Judges in their beds, seizes the High Sheriff, and otherwise makes night hideous;—proposes on the morrow to hang the Judges, as a useful warning, which Mr. Hyde thinks it would have been; but is overruled by Penruddock and the rest. He orders the High Sheriff to proclaim King Charles; High Sheriff will not, not though you hang him; Town-crier will not, not even he though you hang him. The Insurrection does not speed in Salisbury, it would seem. The Insurrection quits Salisbury on Monday night, hearing that troopers are on foot; marches with all speed towards Cornwall, hoping for better luck there. Marches;—but Captain Unton Crook, whom we once saw before, marches also in the rear of it; marches swiftly, fiercely; overtakes it at South Molton in Devonshire 'on Wednesday about ten at night,' and there in few minutes puts an end to it. 'They fired out of windows on us,' but could make nothing of it. We took Penruddock, Grove, and long lists of others: Wagstaff unluckily escaped.[3] The unfortunate men were tried, at Exeter, by a regular assize and jury; were found guilty, some of High Treason, some of 'Horse-stealing:' Penruddock and Grove, stanch Royalists both and gallant men, were beheaded; several were hanged; a great many 'sent to Barbadoes;'—and this Royalist conflagration too, which should have blazed all over England, is entirely damped out, having amounted to smoke merely, whereby many eyes are bleared! Indeed so prompt and complete is the extinction, thankless people begin to say there had never been anything considerable to extinguish. Had they stood in the middle of it,—had they seen the nocturnal rendezvous at Marston Moor, seen what Shrewsbury, what Rufford Abbey, what North Wales in general, would have grown to on the morrow,—in that case, thinks the Lord Protector not without some indignation, they had known![4] Wagstaff has escaped, and Wilmot Earl of Rochester so-called; right glad to be beyond seas again; and will look twice at an Insurrection before they embark in it in time coming.

[3] Crook's Letter, 'South Molton, 15th March 1654, two or three in the morning' (King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 637, § 15). *State Trials*, v. 767 et seqq.; Whitlocke, p. 601; Thurloe, iii. 365, 384, 391, 445; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 152-3.—Official Letters in reference to this Plot, Appendix, No. 28.

[4] Postea, Speech V.

A terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset! He has the ringleaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large;—as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate:—is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt 'to *barbadoes*' an unruly man,—has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: 'barbadoes you.'[5] Safest to let this Protector alone! Charles Stuart withdraws from Middleburg into the interior obscurities; and Mr. Hyde will not be so cock-sure another time. Mr. Hyde, much pondering how his secret could have been let out, finds that it is an underling of his, one Mr. Manning, a gentleman by birth, 'fond of fine clothes,' and in very straitened circumstances at present, who has been playing the traitor. Indisputably a traitor: wherefore the King in Council has him doomed to death; has him shot, in winter following, 'in the Duke of Neuburg's territory.'[6] Diligent Thurloe finds others to take his place.

*May 28th*, 1655. Desborow, who commands the Regular Troops in that insurrectionary Southwest region, is, by Commission bearing date this day, appointed *Major-General* of the Militia-forces likewise, and of all manner of civic and military forces at the disposal of the Commonwealth in those parts. Major-General over six counties specified in this Document; with power somewhat enlarged, and not easy to specify,—power, in fact, to look after the peace of the Commonwealth there, and do what the Council of State shall order him.[7] He coerces Royalists; questions, commits to custody suspected persons; keeps down disturbance by such methods as, on the spot, he finds wisest. A scheme found to answer well. The beginning of a universal Scheme of MAJOR-GENERALS, which develops itself into full maturity in the autumn of this year; the Lord Protector and his Council of State having well considered it in the interim, and found it the feasiblest; if not *good*, yet best.

By this Scheme, which we may as well describe here as afterwards, All England is divided into Districts; Ten Districts, a Major-General for each; let him be a man most carefully

[5] Intercepted Letters, Thurloe, iii.
[6] Clarendon, iii. 752; Whitlocke, p. 618 (Dec. 1655); Ludlow, ii. 608.
[7] Thurloe, iii. 486.

chosen, a man of real wisdom, valour and veracity, a man fearing God and hating covetousness; for his powers are great. He looks after the Good of the Commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, as he finds wisest. Ejects, or aids in ejecting, scandalous ministers; summons disaffected, suspected persons before him; demands an account of them; sends them to prison, failing an account that satisfies him;—and there is no appeal except to the Protector in Council. His force is the Militia of his Counties; horse and foot, levied and kept in readiness for the occasion; especially troops of horse. Involving, of course, new expense;—which we decide that the Plotting Royalists, who occasion it, shall pay. On all Royalist disaffected Persons the Major-General therefore, as his first duty, is to lay an *Income-tax of Ten per-cent;* let them pay it quietly, or it may be worse for them. They pay it very quietly. Strange as it may seem, the Country submits very quietly to this arrangement;—the Major-Generals being men carefully chosen. "It is an arbitrary Government!" murmur many. Yes; arbitrary, but beneficial. These are powers unknown to the English Constitution, I believe; but they are very necessary for the Puritan English Nation at this time. With men of real wisdom, who do fear God and hate covetousness, when you can find such men, you may to some purpose intrust considerable powers!

It is in this way that Oliver Protector coerces the unruly elements of England; says to them: "Peace, ye! With the aid of Parliament and venerable Parchment, if so may be; without it, if so may not be,—I, called hither by a very good Authority, will hold you down. Quiet shall you, for your part, keep yourselves; or be 'barbadoesed,' and worse. Mark it; not while I live shall you have dominion, you nor the Master of you!"—Cock-matches, Horse-races and other loose assemblages are, for limited times, forbidden; over England generally, or in Districts where it may be thought somewhat is a-brewing. Without cock-fighting we can do; but not without Peace, and the absence of Charles Stuart and his Copartneries. It is a Government of some arbitrariness.

And yet singular, observes my learned friend, how popular it seems to grow. These considerable infringements of the constitutional fabric, prohibition of cock-fights, amercings of Royalists, taxing without consent in Parliament, seem not to

awaken the indignation of England; rather almost the gratitude and confidence of England. Next year, we have 'Letters of 'great appearances of the Country at the Assizes; and how the 'Gentlemen of the greatest quality served on Grand Juries; 'which is fit to be observed.'[8]

We mention, but cannot dwell upon it, another trait belonging to those Spring Months of 1655: the quarrel my Lord Protector had in regard to his Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery. Ordinance passed merely by the Protector in Council; never confirmed by any Parliament; which nevertheless he insists upon having obeyed. How our learned Bulstrode, learned Widdrington, two of the Keepers of the Great Seal, durst not obey; and Lisle the other Keeper durst;—and Old-Speaker Lenthall, Master of the Rolls, "would be hanged at the Rolls Gate before he would obey." What profound consults there were among us; buzz in the Profession, in the Public generally. And then how Oliver Protector, with delicate patient bridle-hand and yet with resolute spur, made us all obey, or else go out of that,—which latter step Bulstrode and Widdrington, with a sublime conscientious feeling, preferred to take, the big heart saying to itself, "I have lost a thousand pounds a-year!" And Lenthall, for all his bragging, was not hanged at the Rolls Gate; but kept his skin whole, and his salary whole, and did as he was bidden. The buzz in the Profession, notwithstanding much abatement of fees, had to compose itself again.[9]—Bulstrode adds, some two months hence, 'The Protector being good-natured, and sensible of his harsh 'proceeding against Whitlocke and Widdrington,' made them Commissioners of the Treasury, which was a kind of compensation. There, with Montague and Sydenham, they had a moderately good time of it; but saw, not without a sigh, the Great Seal remain with Lisle who durst obey, and for colleague to him a certain well-known Nathaniel Fiennes, a shrewd man, Lord Say and Sele's son,—who knew nothing of that business, says Bulstrode, nay Lisle himself knew nothing of it till he learned it from *us*.[10] Console thyself, big heart. How seldom is sublime virtue rewarded in this world!

*June 3d*, 1655. This day come sad news out of Piedmont; confirmation of bad rumours there had been, which

[8] Whitlocke, p. 624 (April 1656).
[9] Ibid. pp. 602-8.
[10] Ibid. p. 608.

deeply affects all pious English hearts, and the Protector's most of all. It appears the Duke of Savoy had, not long since, decided on having certain poor Protestant subjects of his converted at last to the Catholic Religion. Poor Protestant people, who dwell in the obscure valleys 'of Lucerna, of Perosa and St. Martin,' among the feeders of the Po, in the Savoy Alps: they are thought to be descendants of the old Waldenses; a pious inoffensive people: dear to the hearts and imaginations of all Protestant men. These, it would appear, the Duke of Savoy, in the past year, undertook to himself to get converted; for which object he sent friars to preach among them. The friars could convert nobody; one of the friars, on the contrary, was found assassinated, — signal to the rest that they had better take themselves away. The Duke thereupon sent other missionaries: six regiments of Catholic soldiers; and an order to the People of the Valleys either to be converted straightway, or quit the country at once. They could not be converted all at once: neither could they quit the country well; the month was December; among the Alps; and it was their home for immemorial years! Six regiments, however, say they must; six Catholic regiments;—and three of them are Irish, made of the banished *Kurisees* we knew long since; whose humour, on such an occasion, we can guess at! It is admitted they behaved 'with little ceremony;' it is not to be denied they behaved with much bluster and violence: ferocities, atrocities, to the conceivable amount, still stand in authentic black-on-white against them. The Protestants of the Valleys were violently driven out of house and home, not without slaughters and tortures by the road;—had to seek shelter in French Dauphiné, or where they could; and, in mute or spoken supplication, appeal to all generous hearts of men. The saddest confirmation of the actual banishment, the actual violences done, arrives at Whitehall this day, 3d June 1655.[11]

Pity is perennial: "Ye have *compassion* on one another," — is it not notable, beautiful? In our days too, there are Polish Balls and suchlike: but the pity of the Lord Protector and Puritan England for these poor Protestants among the Alps is not to be measured by ours. The Lord Protector is melted into tears, and roused into sacred fire. This day the French Treaty, not unimportant to him, was to be signed: this

[11] Letter of the French Ambassador (in *Thurloe*, iii. 470).

day he refuses to sign it till the King and Cardinal undertake to assist him in getting right done in those poor Valleys.[12] He sends the poor exiles 2,000*l.* from his own purse; appoints a Day of Humiliation and a general Collection over England for that object;—has, in short, decided that he will bring help to these poor men; that England and he will see them helped and righted. How Envoys were sent; how blind Milton wrote Letters to all Protestant States, calling on them for coöperation; how the French Cardinal was shy to meddle, and yet had to meddle, and compel the Duke of Savoy, much astonished at the business, to do justice and *not* what he liked with his own: all this, recorded in the unreadablest stagnant deluges of old Official Correspondence,[13] is very certain, and ought to be fished therefrom and made more apparent.

In all which, as we can well believe, it was felt that the Lord Protector had been the Captain of England, and had truly expressed the heart and done the will of England;—in this, as in some other things. Milton's Sonnet and Six Latin Letters are still readable; the Protector's Act otherwise remains mute hitherto. Small damage to the Protector, if no other suffer thereby! Let it stand here as a symbol to us of his Foreign Policy in general; which had this one object, testified in all manner of negotiations and endeavours, noticed by us and not noticed, To make England Queen of the Protestant world; her, if there were no worthier Queen. To unite the Protestant world of struggling Light against the Papist world of potent Darkness. To stand upon God's Gospel, as the actual intrinsic Fact of this Practical Earth; and defy all potency of Devil's Gospels on the strength of that. Wherein, again, Puritan England felt gradually that this Oliver *was* her Captain; and in heart could not but say, Long life to him!—as we do now.

Let us note one other small private trait of Oliver in these months; and then hasten to the few Letters we have. Dull Bulstrode has jotted down: 'The Protector feasted the Commissioners for Approbation of Ministers.'[14] Means the Commission of Triers;[15] whom he has to dinner with him in Whitehall. Old Sir Francis, Dr. Owen and the rest. 'He sat at

[12] Thurloe, ubi supra.
[13] Ibid. (much of vol. iii.); Vaughan's *Protectorate*, &c.
[14] Whitlocke, April 1655.
[15] Antea, p. 6.

'table with them; and was cheerful and familiar in their com-'pany:' Hope you are getting on, my friends: how this is, and how that is? 'By such kind of little caresses,' adds Bulstrode, 'he gained much upon many persons.' Me, as a piece of nearly matchless law-learning and general wisdom, I doubt he never sufficiently respected; though he knew my fat qualities too, and was willing to use and recognise them!—

## LETTERS CXCVIII.—CCIII.

SIX Letters of somewhat miscellaneous character; which we must take in mass, and with no word of Commentary that can be spared. Straggling accidental lightbeams, accidentally preserved to us, and still transiently illuminating this feature or that of the Protector and his business,—let them be welcome in the darkness for what they are.

### LETTER CXCVIII.

BESIDES the great Sea-Armament that sailed from Portsmouth last December, and went Westward, with sealed orders, which men begin to guess were for the Spanish West Indies,—the Protector had another Fleet fitted out under Blake, already famous as a Sea-General; which has been in the Mediterranean during these late months; exacting reparation for damages, old or recent, done to the English Nation or to individuals of it, by the Duke of Florence or by others; keeping an eye on Spain too, and its Plate Fleets, apparently with still ulterior objects.

The Duke of Florence has handsomely done justice; the Dey of Tunis was not so well advised, and has repented of it. There are Letters, dated March last, though they do not come till June: 'Letters that General Blake demanding at Tunis 'reparation for the losses of the English from Turkish Pirates, 'the Dey answered him with scorn, and bade him behold his 'Castles.' Blake did behold them; 'sailed into the Harbour 'within musket-shot of them; and though the shore was planted

'with great guns, he set upon the Turkish ships, fired nine of 'them,' and brought the Dey to reason, we apprehend.[1]

*To General Blake, 'at Sea.'*

SIR, Whitehall, 13th June 1655.

I have received yours of the 25th of March, which gives account of the late Transactions between yourself and the Governors of Tunis, concerning the losses which the English have sustained by the piracies of that place; and 'of' the success it pleased God to give in the attempt you made upon their shipping, after their positive refusal to give you satisfaction upon your just demands. And as we have great cause to acknowledge the good hand of God towards us in this Action, who, in all the circumstances thereof, as they have been represented by you, was pleased to appear very signally with you; so I think myself obliged to take notice of your courage and good conduct therein; and do esteem that you have done therein a very considerable service to this Commonwealth.

I hope you have received the former Despatches which were sent unto you by the way of Legorne, for your coming into Cadiz Bay with the Fleet; as also those which were sent by a Ketch immediately from hence; whereby you had also notice of three-months provisions then preparing to be sent,—which have since been sent away, under convoy of the Frigates the *Centurion* and *Dragon;* and 'I' hope they are safely arrived with you, they sailing from hence about the 28th of April.

With this come farther Instructions concerning your disposing of the Fleet for the future; whereunto we do refer you. Besides which, we, having taken into consideration the present Design we have in the West Indies, have judged it necessary, That not only the King of Spain's

[1] Whitlocke, p. 608 (8th June 1655).

Fleets coming from thence be intercepted (which as well your former Instructions as those now sent unto you require and authorise you to do), but that we endeavour also, as much as in us lies, to hinder him from sending any relief or assistance thither. You are therefore, during your abode with the Fleet in those seas, to inform yourself, by the best means you can, concerning the going of the King of Spain's Fleet for the West Indies; and shall, according to such information as you can gain, use your best endeavours to intercept at sea, and fight with and take them, or otherwise to fire and sink them; as also any other of his ships which you shall understand to be bound for the West Indies with provisions of War, for the aid and assistance of his subjects there; carrying yourself towards other of his ships and people as you are directed by your general Instructions. 'I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER P.'*

The Sea-Armament *was* for the West Indies, then: good news of it were welcome!

Here is a short Letter of Blake's to the Protector, dated just the day before; in cipher;—which the reader, having never perhaps seen another Letter of Blake's, will not be displeased with. Unimportant; but bringing the old Seas, with their Puritan Sea-kings, with their 'Plate Fleets,' and vanished populations and traffics, bodily before us for moments.

"George, 12th June 1655.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—The secret Instructions "sent by your Highness, referring me to a former Instruction, "touching the Silver Fleet of Spain coming from America, I "have received; and shall carefully observe the same. We "had information at Cadiz that the Fleet was expected about "a month or five weeks hence. We are now off Cape Mary's; "intending to spread with our Fleet what we can, and to range "this sea, according to the wind and the information we can "get; plying likewise over towards Cape Sprat, it being their "most likely and usual course. They of Cadiz are very dis-

* Thurloe, iii. 547. (Same day, Letter to Poet Waller: Appendix, No. 28, § 7.)

"trustful of us; and there being four Galeons designed for the "Mediterranean, and six for New Spain, it is doubtful how "they may be employed.

"We shall use our best endeavours to put the Instructions "in execution, as God shall afford an opportunity; desiring "your Highness to rest assured of our diligence, and of the "integrity of,—your most humble and faithful servant,

"ROBERT BLAKE."[2]

June 13th is Wednesday. On the morrow is universal Fast-Day, Humiliation and Prayer, and public Collection of Money for the Protestants of Piedmont. A day of much pious emotion in England; and of liberal contribution, which continued on the following days. 'Clerks come to every man's house,' says a disaffected witness; 'come with their papers, and you 'are forced to contribute.' The exact amount realised I never could very authentically learn. The Dutch Ambassador says 100,000*l.* The disaffected witness says, 'London City itself 'gave half-a-million,'—or seemed as it would give. 'The Min-'isters played their part to the full,'—the Ministers and the People and their Ruler. No French Treaty signed or signable till this thing be managed. At length the French were obliged to manage it; 9th September of this same year the thing was got managed;[3]—and by and by was got improved and still better managed, the Protector continuing all his days to watch over it, and over other similar things as they occurred, and to insist on seeing justice done respecting them.

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## LETTER CXCIX.

THE scheme of Major-Generals for England is not yet come to maturity; but it is coming: new occasional arrests and *barbadoes*ings continue, as the threads of old Plots are traced farther and farther. Monk keeps Scotland quiet; the hydra is for the present well under foot.

Meanwhile Henry Cromwell is despatched for Ireland, to see with his own eyes how matters stand there. A reverend

[2] Thurloe, iii. 541. [3] See Thurloe, iii. 549, 623, 745, &c.

godly Mr. Brewster, hardly known to us otherwise, is also proceeding thither; with whom the Lord Protector thinks good to salute his Son-in-law Fleetwood, the Lord Deputy, Ireton's successor in Ireland. Henry Cromwell was there once before, on a somewhat similar mission, and acquitted himself well.[4] His title, this second time, is Major-General of the Army in Ireland. He is to command the forces in Ireland; one easily believes farther, he is to observe well and report faithfully how affairs are; and do his best to assist in rectifying them. Lord Deputy Fleetwood is by some thought to be of too lax temper for his place: he, with his Ludlows, Axtels and discontented Republicans, not to speak of other businesses, would need energy, if he have it not. Rumour has even risen that Henry Cromwell is now sent to supersede him; which, however, the Protector expressly contradicts.

The rumour nevertheless proved, if not true, yet prophetic of the truth. Henry Cromwell acquitted himself well this second time also; being, as we judge, a man of real insight, veracity and resolution; very fit for such a service. Many of his Letters, all creditable to him, are in *Thurloe:* 'Petitions' from certain Irish parties come likewise to view there, That *he* might be appointed Deputy; which Petitions are, for the present, carefully 'suppressed,' yet have in the end to be complied with;—they and the nature of the case, we suppose, require compliance. Some fifteen months hence, Henry is appointed Lord Deputy;[5] Fleetwood, in some handsome way, recalled. In which situation Henry continues till the end of the Protectorate, making really an honourable figure; and then, the scene having altogether changed, retires from it into total obscurity, still in a very manful, simple and noble way.[6]

'My dear Biddy,' in this Letter, is Bridget Fleetwood, whom we once saw as Bridget Ireton;[7] who, for her religious and other worth, is 'a joy to my heart.' Of 'Mr. Brewster,' and the other reverend persons, Spiritual Fathers, held in such regard by the Lord Protector as is due to Spiritual Fatherhood, and pious nobleness of Intellect under whatever guise, I can say nothing; they are Spiritual Great-*grand*-fathers of ours, and we have had

[4] March 1653-4 (Thurloe, ii. 149).
[5] 21st November 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 632).
[6] His Letter to Clarendon, in *Thurloe*, i. 763; see also Tanner MSS. li. 71, a prior Letter to Speaker Lenthall.
[7] Vol. i. p. 229.

to forget them! Some slight notices of Brewster, who I think was a Norfolk man, and more of Cradock, who was Welsh,—zealous Preachers both,—are in the *Milton State-Papers*:[8] they prove the fervent zeal, faith and fearlessness of these worthies; —not necessary to extract in this place. Cradock writes to Cromwell in 1652 that his heart overflows with prayers and praise to God for sending such a man; that he has often stept aside to pray for him, in some thicket or ditch by the wayside, while travelling along, and thinking of him;—which Dryasdust Nicols, the Editor of these *Milton State-Papers*, considers a very ludicrous proceeding. Godly 'Mr. Tillinghurst,' so noble a phenomenon to Oliver and Fleetwood, is to us fallen altogether silent:—seemingly some godly Preacher, of very modest nature; who, in his old days, being brought once before the Lord Protector, cried it was a 'shame' to trouble any Lord Protector, or Sovereign Person, with the like of him! The venerable hoary man. And godly Mr. Troughton, or 'Throughton,' too, was there. O Tillinghurst, O Troughton, how much lies buried![9]

### '*To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland.*'

DEAR CHARLES, 'Whitehall,' 22d June 1655.

I write not often: at once I desire thee to know I most dearly love thee; and indeed my heart is plain to thee as thy heart can well desire: let nothing shake thee in this. The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny turn all into gall and wormwood. My heart is for the People of God: that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest; yet thence are my wounds;—which though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything; though indeed very many good 'are'

[8] pp. 85, 158, &c.

[9] Buried but indisputable traces of this Tillinghurst, certain authentic, still legible entries concerning him, in one of which Brewster too is named, have been detected by a friendly eye in the Record-Book of the Independent Church at Great Yarmouth; where Tillinghurst, it clearly enough appears, was Minister from 1651 to 1654, and much followed and valued as a Preacher and Spiritual Guide in those parts. Brewster, likewise an Independent, was of Alby in the same neighbourhood.—MS. Excerpts penes me (*Note to Third Edition*).

well satisfied, and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time.

It's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy; which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the country: and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his commission for his present place. This I say as from a simple and sincere heart. The noise of my being crowned &c. are similar[10] malicious figments.

Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly. Let him be near you: indeed he is a very able holy man; trust me you will find him so. He was a bosom-friend of Mr. Tillinghurst; ask him of him; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock;—Mr. Throughton, a godly minister being by, with 'Mr. Tillinghurst' himself, who cried "Shame!"

Dear Charles, my dear love to thee; 'and' to my dear Biddy, who is a joy to my heart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord once and again: if she knows the Covenant,[11] she cannot but do 'so.' For that Transaction is without *her;* sure and stedfast, between the Father and the Mediator in His blood: therefore, leaning upon the Son, or looking to Him, thirsting after Him, and embracing Him, we are His Seed;—and the Covenant is sure to all the Seed. The Compact is for the Seed: God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in Him to us: the Covenant is without *us;* a Transaction between God and Christ.[12] Look up to *it.* God engageth in

[10] 'like' in orig.

[11] Covenant of Grace; much expounded, and insisted on, by Dr. Owen, among others; and ever a most fundamental point of God's Arrangement, according to the theory of Oliver.

[12] The reader who discerns no spiritual meaning in all this, shall try it again, if I may advise him.

it to pardon us; to write His Law in our heart; to plant His fear 'so' that we shall never depart from Him. We, under all our sins and infirmities, can daily offer a perfect Christ; and thus we have peace and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant,—who cannot deny Himself. And truly in this is all my salvation; and this helps me to bear my great burdens.

If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife &c., take the best opportunity for the good of the Public and your own convenience. The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct, and keep me His servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own;—but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard. Pray for me; I do for you all. Commend me to all friends. I rest, your loving father, OLIVER P.*

Courage, my brave Oliver! Thou hast but some three years more of it, and then the coils and puddles of this Earth, and of its poor unthankful doggery of a population, are all behind thee; and Carrion Heath, and Chancellor Hyde, and Charles Stuart the Christian King, can work their will; for thou hast done with it, thou art above it in the serene azure forevermore!

Fleetwood, I observe, did come over: in January next we find the 'Lord Deputy' busy here in London with Bulstrode, and others of the Treasury, on high matters of State.[13] He did not return to Ireland; got into Major-Generalings, into matters of State, on this side the Channel; and so ended his Deputyship;—dropping without violence, like fruit fully ripe; the management of Ireland having gradually all shifted into Henry Cromwell's hand in the interim.

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## LETTER CC.

HERE, fluttering loose on the dim confines of Limbo and the Night-realm, is a small Note of Oliver's, issuing one knows

* Thurloe, iii. 572.

[13] Whitlocke, p. 618 (7th Jan. 1655-6).

not whence, but recognisable as his, which we must snatch and save. A private and thrice-private Note, for Secretary Thurloe; curiously disclosing to us, as one or two other traits elsewhere do, that, with all his natural courtesies, noble simplicities and affabilities, this Lord Protector knew on occasion the word-of-command too, and what the meaning of a Lord Protector, King, or Chief Magistrate in the Commonwealth of England was.

'Margery Beacham,' Wife of William Beacham, Mariner, lives, the somnolent Editors do not apprise us where,—probably in London or some of the Out Ports; certainly in considerable indigence at present. Her poor Husband, in the course of 'many services to the Commonwealth by sea and land,' has quite lost the use of his right arm; has a poor 'Pension of Forty shillings allowed him from Chatham;' has Margery, and one poor Boy Randolph, 'tractable to learn,' but who can get no schooling out of such an income. Wherefore, as seems but reasonable, Margery petitions his Highness that the said Randolph might be admitted 'a Scholar of Sutton's Hospital, commonly called the Charterhouse,' in London.[14]

His Highness, who knows the services of William Beacham, and even 'a secret service' of his not mentioned in the Petition or Certificates, straightway decides that the Boy Beacham is clearly a case for Sutton's Bounty, and that the Commissioners of the same shall give it him. But now it seems the Chief Commissioner, whose name in this Note stands — — *Blank Blank*, is not so prompt in the thing; will consider it, will &c. Consider it? His Highness dockets the Petition, 'We *refer* 'this to the Commissioners for Sutton's Hospital: 28th July '1655;' and instructs Thurloe to inform Blank Blank that he had much better not consider it, but do it! Which there is no doubt Blank Blank now saw at once to be the real method of the business.

### '*To Mr. Secretary Thurloe.*'

'Whitehall,' 28th July 1655.

You receive from me, this 28th instant, a Petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her Son into the Charterhouse; whose Husband[15] was em-

[14] Her Petition printed, without date, in Scatcherd, &c. ubi infra.
[15] 'who' in the hasty original, as if Margery's self or Son were meant.

ployed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

I have wrote under it a common Reference to the Commissioners; but I mean a great deal more: That it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to ——— ———. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but—To be short, I know how to deny Petitions; and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to "refer" to any Officer or Office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing *done*. Thy true friend,

OLIVER P.*

## LETTER CCI.

WE fear there is little chance of the Plate Fleet this year; bad rumours come from the West Indies too, of our grand Armament and Expedition thither. The Puritan Sea-king meanwhile keeps the waters; watches the coasts of Spain;—which, however, are growing formidable at present.

The 'Person bound for Lisbon' is Mr. Meadows, one of Secretary Thurloe's Under-secretaries; concerning whom and whose business there will be farther speech by and by. Of the 'Commissioners of the Admiralty' we name only Colonel Montague of Hinchinbrook, who is getting very deep in these matters, and may himself be Admiral one day.

* Scatcherd's *History of Morley* (Leeds, 1830), p. 332. Printed there, and in *Annual Register* (for 1758, p. 268), and elsewhere; without commentary, or indication Whence or How,—with several impertinent interpolations which are excluded here. In the *Annual Register* vague reference is made to a Book called *Collection of Letters &c.* 'compiled by Leonard Howard, D.D.,' who seems to be the first publisher of this Note; author, I suppose, of the impertinent interpolations, which vary in different copies, but being exactly indicated in all, are easily thrown out again as here. In Howard's Book (a disorganic Quarto, London, 1753; one volume published, a second promised but nowhere discoverable), which is credibly described to me as 'one of the most confused farragos ever printed,' search for this Note has been made, twice, to no purpose; and with little hope of elucidation there, had the Note been found. By internal evidence a genuine Note; and legible as we have it.

*To the General of the Fleet, 'General Blake, at Sea.'*

SIR, 'Whitehall,' 30th July 1655.

We have received yours of the 4th, as also that of the 6th instant, both at once; the latter signifying the great preparations which are making against you.

Some intelligence of that nature is also come to us from another hand. Which hath occasioned us to send away this Despatch unto you, immediately upon the receipt of yours, to let you know That we do not judge it safe for you, whilst things are in this condition, to send away any part of the Fleet, as you were directed by our Instructions of the 13th of June;[16] and therefore, notwithstanding those Orders, you are to keep the whole Fleet with you, until you have executed the Secret Instructions,[17] or find the opportunity is over for the doing thereof.

We think it likewise requisite that you keep with you the two Frigates which conveyed the victuals to you; as also the *Nantwich*, which was sent to you with a Person bound for Lisbon with our instructions to that King. And for the defects of the Fleet, the Commissioners of the Admiralty will take care thereof; and be you confident that nothing shall be omitted which can be done here for your supply and encouragement.

I beseech the Lord to be present with you. I rest, your very loving friend, OLIVER P.*

Copied 'in Secretary Thurloe's hand;' who has added the following Note: 'With this Letter was sent the intelligence of 'the twenty ships coming across the Straits, and of the thirty-'one ships and eight fire-ships—[*word lost*]—in Cadiz;'—dangerous ships and fire-ships, which belong all now to the vanished generations: and have sailed, one knows not whence, one knows not whither!

[16] Antea, Letter CXCVIII.
[17] In Blake's Letter, antea;—they concern the 'Silver Fleet' most likely.
* Thurloe, iii. 688.

## COMPLIMENT.

PRECISELY in those same summer days there has come a brilliant Swedish gentleman, as Extraordinary Ambassador to this Country from the King of Swedeland. A hot, high-tempered, clear-shining man; something fierce, metallic in the lustre of him. Whose negotiations, festivities, impatiences, and sudden heats of temper, occupy our friend Bulstrode almost exclusively for a twelvemonth. We will say only, He has come hither to negotiate a still stricter league of amity between the two Countries; in which welcome enterprise the Lord Protector seems rather to complicate him by endeavouring to include the Dutch in it, the Prussians and Danes in it,—to make it, in fact, a general League, or basis for a League, of Protestants against the Power of Rome, and Antichristian Babylon at large; which in these days, under certain Austrian Kaisers, Spanish Kings, Italian Popes, whose names it may be interesting not to remember, is waxing very formidable. It was an object the Protector never ceased endeavouring after; though in this, as in other instances, with only partial, never with entire success.

Observe however, as all Old London observes, on the night of Saturday July 28th, 1655, the far-shining Procession by torchlight. Procession 'from Tower-wharf to the late Sir Abraham Williams's in Westminster;' this brilliant Swedish Gentleman with numerous gilt coaches and innumerable outriders and onlookers, making his advent then and thus; Whitlocke, Montague, Strickland (for we love to be particular) officially escorting him. Observe next how he was nobly entertained three days in that Williams House, at the Protector's charges; and on the third day had his audience of the Protector; in a style of dignity worth noting by Bulstrode. Sir Oliver Fleming; 'galleries full of ladies,' 'Lifeguards in their gray frock-coats with velvet welts;' lanes of gentlemen, seas of general public: conceive it all; truly dignified, decorous; scene 'the Banqueting House of Whitehall, hung with arras:' and how at the upper end of the room the Lord Protector was seen standing 'on a footpace and carpet, with a chair of state behind him;' and how the Ambassador saluted thrice as he advanced, thrice lifting his noble hat and feathers, as the Pro-

tector thrice lifted his; and then—Bulstrode shall give the rest:

'After a little pause, the Ambassador put off his hat, and 'began to speak, and then put it on again: and whensoever, 'in his speech, he named the King his master, or Sweden, or 'the Protector, or England, he moved his hat: especially if 'he mentioned anything of God, or the good of Christendom, 'he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still answered 'him in the like postures of civility. The Ambassador spake 'in the Swedish language; and after he had done, being but 'short, his Secretary Berkman did interpret it in Latin to this 'effect' — — Conceivable, without repetition, to ingenious readers. A stately, far-shining speech, done into Latin; 'being 'but short.'

And now 'after his Interpreter had done, the Protector 'stood still a pretty while; and, putting off his hat to the Am- 'bassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he ans- 'wered him in English to this effect:'

My Lord Ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the King your master towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular. Whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory; and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

My Lord, you are welcome into England; and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a "nearer and "more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swede- "land," as that which, in my judgment, will tend much to the honour and commodity of both Nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant Interest. I shall nominate some Persons to meet and treat with your Lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them.

After which, Letters were presented, *etceteras* were trans-

acted, and then, with a carriage full of gravity and state, they all withdrew to their ulterior employments, and the scene vanishes.[18]

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## LETTER CCII.

IT is too sad a truth, the Expedition to the West Indies has failed! Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables have themselves come home, one after the other, with the disgraceful news; and are lodged in the Tower, a fortnight ago, for quitting their post without orders. Of all which we shall have some word to say anon. But take first these glimpses into other matters, foreign and domestic, on sea and land,—as the Oblivions have chanced to leave them visible for us. 'Cascais Bay' is at the mouth of the Tagus: General Blake seems still king of the waters in those parts.

*'To General Blake, at Sea.'*

SIR, Whitehall, 13th September 1655.

We have received yours from Cascais Bay, of the 30th of August; and were very sensible of the wants of the Fleet as they were represented by your last before; and had given directions for three-months provisions,—which were all prepared, and sent from Portsmouth, some time since, under the convoy of the *Bristol* Frigate. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty have had Letters yesterday that they were forced back, by contrary winds, into Plymouth, and are there now attending for the first slack of wind, to go to sea again. And the Commissioners of the Admiralty are instructed[19] to quicken them by an express; although it is become very doubtful whether those provisions can 'now' come in time for supplying of your wants.

And for what concerns the fighting of the Fleet of Spain, whereof your said Letter makes mention, we judge it of

[18] Whitlocke, pp. 609-10.
[19] 'commands of the Admiralty are required' in orig.

great consequence, and much for the service of the Commonwealth, that this Fleet were fought; as well in order to the executing your former Instructions, as for the preservation of our ships and interest in the West Indies: and our meaning was, by our former Order, and still is, That the Fleet which shall come for the guarding of the Plate Fleet, as we conceive this doth, should be attempted. But in respect we have not certain knowledge of the strength of the Spanish Fleet, nor of the condition of your Fleet, which may alter every day,—we think it reasonable, at this distance, not to oblige you by any positive order to engage; but must, as we do hereby, leave it to you, who are upon the place, and know the state of things, to handle the rein as you shall find your opportunity and the ability of the Fleet to be:—as we also do for your coming home, either for want of provisions or in respect of the season of the year, at such time as you shall judge it to be for the safety of the Fleet. And we trust the Lord will guide and be with you in the management of this thing. Your very loving friend, OLIVER P.

'P.S.' In case your return should be so soon as that you should not make use of the Provisions now sent you, or but little thereof, we desire you to cause them to be preserved; they may be applied to other uses.*

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## LETTER CCIII.

*'To the Commissioners of Maryland.'*

SIRS, Whitehall, 26th September 1655.

It seems to us by yours of the 29th of June, and by the relation we received by Colonel Bennet, that

* Thurloe, i. 724,—in cipher; and seemingly of Thurloe's composition.

some mistake or scruple hath arisen concerning the sense of our Letters of the 12th of January last,[20]—as if, by our Letters, we had intimated that we would have a stop put to the proceedings of those Commissioners who were authorised to settle the Civil Government of Maryland. Which was not at all intended by us; nor so much as proposed to us by those who made addresses to us to obtain our said Letter: but our intention (as our said Letter doth plainly import) was only, To prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the Plantations of Virginia or Maryland, from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds: the said differences being then under the consideration of Ourself and Council here. Which, for your more full satisfaction, we have thought fit to signify to you; and rest, your loving friend, 'OLIVER P.'*

A very obscure American Transaction;—sufficiently lucid for our Cisatlantic purposes; nay shedding a kind of light or twilight into extensive dim regions of Oblivion on the other side of the Ocean. Bancroft, and the other American authorities, who have or have not noticed this Letter, will with great copiousness explain the business to the curious.

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The Major-Generals are now all on foot, openly since the middle of August last;[21] and an Official Declaration published on the subject. Ten military Major-Generals, Ten or finally Twelve, with militia-forces, horse and foot, at their beck; coercing Royalist Revolt, and other Anarchy; 'decimating' it, that is, levying Ten per-cent upon the Income of it; summoning it, cross-questioning it,—peremptorily signifying to it that it will not be allowed here, that it had better cease in this Country. They have to deal with Quakers also, with Anabaptists, Scandalous Ministers, and other forms of Anarchy. The powers of these men are great: much need that they be just men and wise, men fearing God and hating covetousness;

[20] Antea, p. 74. * Thurloe, iv. 55.
[21] Order-Book of the Council of State; cited in Godwin (iv. 228).

—all turns on that! They will be supportable, nay welcome and beneficial, if so. Insupportable enough, if not so:—as indeed what official person, or man under any form, except the form of a slave well-collared and driven by whips, is or ought to be supportable 'if *not* so'? We subjoin a list of their names, as historically worthy, known or unknown to the reader, here.[22]

Soon after this Letter, 'in the month of October 1655,' there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A Procession of Eight Persons; one, a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: "Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!" and other things, 'in a buzzing tone,' which the impartial hearer could not make out. The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks;' hat drawn close over his brows; 'nose rising slightly in the middle;' of abstruse 'down look,' and large dangerous jaws strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung-to by the others bare. Amid pouring deluges, and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches:' a spectacle to the West of England and Posterity! Singing as above; answering no question except in song. From Bedminster to Ratcliff Gate, along the streets, to the High Cross of Bristol: at the High Cross they are laid hold of by the Authorities;—turn out to be James Nayler and Company. James Nayler, 'from Andersloe' or Ardsley 'in Yorkshire,' heretofore a Trooper under Lam-

[22] *General Desborow* has the Counties: Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall.
*Colonel Kelsey:* Kent and Surrey.
*Colonel Goffe:* Sussex, Hants, Berks.
*Major-General Skippon:* London.
*Colonel Barkstead* (Governor of the Tower): Middlesex and Westminster.
*Lord Deputy Fleetwood* (who never returns to Ireland): Oxford, Bucks, Herts; Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk,—for these last four he can appoint a substitute (*Colonel Haynes*).
*General Whalley:* Lincoln, Notts, Derby, Warwick, Leicester.
*Major Butler:* Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon.
*Colonel Berry* (Richard Baxter's friend, once a Clerk in the Ironworks): Hereford, Salop, North Wales.
*General* (Sea-General) *Dawkins:* Monmouth and South Wales.
*Colonel Worseley:* Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire.
*The Lord Lambert:* York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland,—can appoint substitutes (*Colonel Robert Lilburn, Colonel Charles Howard*).

bert; now a Quaker and something more. Infatuated Nayler and Company; given up to Enthusiasm,—to Animal-Magnetism, to Chaos and Bedlam in one shape or other! Who will need to be coerced by the Major-Generals, I think;—to be forwarded to London, and there sifted and cross-questioned.[23] Is not the Spiritualism of England developing itself in strange forms? The Hydra, royalist and sansculottic, has many heads.

George Fox, some time before this, had made his way to the Protector himself; to represent to him the undeserved sufferings of Friends,—and what a faithful people they were, though sansculottic, or wearing suits sometimes merely of perennial leather. George's huge *Journal*, to our regret, has no dates; but his Interview with the Protector, once in these late months, is authentic, still visible to the mind. George, being seized in Leicestershire, 'carried-up to the Mews,' and otherwise tribulated by subaltern authorities, contrived to make the Protector hear some direct voice of him, appoint some hour to see him. 'It was on a morning:' George went; was admitted to the Protector's bedchamber, 'where one Harvey, who had been a little among Friends,' but had not proved entirely obedient,—the Harvey who will write us a very valuable little Pamphlet one day,[24]—was dressing him. "Peace be in this house!" George Fox 'was moved to say.' Peace, O George. 'I exhorted him,' writes George, 'to keep in the fear of God,' whereby he might 'receive Wisdom from God,' which would be a useful guidance for any Sovereign Person. In fact, I had 'much discourse' with him; explaining what I and Friends had been led to think 'concerning Christ and His Apostles' of old time, and His Priests and Ministers of new; concerning Life and concerning Death;—concerning this unfathomable Universe in general, and the Light in it that is from Above, and the Darkness in it that is from Below: to all which the Protector 'carried himself with much moderation.' Yes, George; this Protector has a sympathy with the Perennial; and feels it across the Temporary: no hulls, leathern or other, can entirely hide it from the sense of him. 'As I spake, he several times 'said, "That is very good," and, "That is true."'—Other persons coming in, persons of quality so-called, I drew back; lingered; and then was for retiring: 'he caught me by the

[23] Examination of them (in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 424-39).
[24] *Passages in his Highness's Last Sickness.*

'hand,' and with moist-beaming eyes, 'said: "Come again to 'my house! If thou and I were but an hour of the day to-'gether, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no 'more harm to thee than I do to my own soul."'—"Hearken to God's voice!" said George in conclusion: "Whosoever hearkens to *it*, his heart is not hardened;" *his* heart remains true, open to the Wisdoms, to the Noblenesses; with him it shall be well!—'Captain Drury' wished me to stay among the Lifeguard gentlemen, and dine with them; but I declined, not being free thereunto.[25]

## LETTERS CCIV.—CCVI.

### JAMAICA.

WE said already the grand Sea-Armament, which sailed from Portsmouth at Christmas 1654, had proved unsuccessful. It went westward; opened its Sealed Instructions at a certain latitude; found that they were instructions to attack Hispaniola, to attack the Spanish Power in the West Indies: it did attack Hispaniola, and lamentably failed; attacked the Spanish Power in the West Indies, and has hitherto realised almost nothing,—a mere waste Island of Jamaica, to all appearance little worth the keeping at such cost. It is hitherto the unsuccessfulest enterprise Oliver Cromwell ever had concern with. Desborow fitted it out at Portsmouth, while the Lord Protector was busy with his First refractory Pedant Parliament; there are faults imputed to Desborow: but the grand fault the Lord Protector imputes to himself, That he chose, or sanctioned the choice of, Generals improper to command it. Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables, they were unfortunate, they were incompetent; fell into disagreements, into distempers of the bowels; had critical Civil Commissioners with them, too, who did not mend the matter. Venables lay 'six weeks in bed,' very ill of sad West-India maladies; for the rest, a covetous lazy dog, who cared nothing for the business, but wanted to be home at his Irish Government again. Penn is Father of Penn the Pennsylvanian Quaker; a man somewhat quick of temper, 'like to

[25] *Fox's Journal* (Leeds, 1836), i. 265.

break his heart' when affairs went wrong; unfit to right them again. As we said, the two Generals came voluntarily home in the end of last August, leaving the wreck of their forces in Jamaica; and were straightway lodged in the Tower for quitting their post.

A great Armament of Thirty, nay of Sixty Ships; of Four-thousand soldiers, two regiments of whom were veterans, the rest a somewhat sad miscellany of broken Royalists, unruly Levellers, and the like, who would volunteer,—whom Venables augmented at Barbadoes, with a still more unruly set, to Nine-thousand: this great Armament the Lord Protector has strenuously hurled, as a sudden fiery bolt, into the dark Domdaniel of Spanish Iniquity in the far West; and it has exploded there, almost without effect. The Armament saw Hispaniola, and Hispaniola with fear and wonder saw it, on the 14th of April 1655: but the Armament, a sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons, durst not land 'where Drake had landed,' and at once take the Town and Island: the Armament hovered hither and thither; and at last agreed to land some sixty miles off; marched therefrom through thick-tangled woods, under tropical heats, till it was nearly dead with mere marching; was then set upon by ambuscadoes; fought miserably ill, the unruly persons of it, or would not fight at all; fled back to its ships a mass of miserable disorganic ruin; and 'dying there at the rate of two-hundred a day,' made for Jamaica.[1]

Jamaica, a poor unpopulous Island, was quickly taken, as rich Hispaniola might have been, and the Spaniards were driven away: but to men in biliary humour it seemed hardly worth the taking or the keeping. 'Immense droves of wild cattle, cows and horses, run about Jamaica;' dusky Spaniards dwell in *hatos*, in unswept shealings; '80,000 hogs are killed every 'year for the sake of their lard, which is sold under the name 'of *hog's-butter* at Carthagena:' but what can we do with all that! The poor Armament continuing to die as if by murrain, and all things looking worse and worse to poor biliary Generals, Sea-General Penn set sail for home, whom Land-General Venables swiftly followed; leaving 'Vice-Admiral Goodson,' 'Major-General Fortescue,' or almost whosoever liked, to manage in their absence, and their ruined moribund forces to die as

[1] *Journal of the English Army in the West Indies*, by an Eye-witness (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi. 372-390). A lucid and reasonable Narrative.

they could;—and are now lodged in the Tower, as they deserved to be. The Lord Protector, and virtually England with him, had hoped to see the dark empire of bloody Antichristian Spain a little shaken in the West; some reparation got for its inhuman massacrings and long-continued tyrannies,—massacrings, exterminations of us, 'at St. Kitts in 1629, at Tortuga in 1637, at Santa Cruz in 1650;' so, in the name of England, had this Lord Protector hoped; and he has now to take his disappointment.

The ulterior history of these Western Affairs, of this new Jamaica under Cromwell, lies far dislocated, drowned deep in the Slumber-Lakes of *Thurloe* and Company; in a most dark, stupefied, and altogether dismal condition. A history indeed, which, as you painfully fish it up and by degrees reawaken it to life, is in itself sufficiently dismal. Not much to be intermeddled with here. The English left in Jamaica, the English successively sent thither, prosper as ill as need be; still die, soldiers and settlers of them, at a frightful rate per day; languish, for most part, astonished in their strange new sultry element; and cannot be brought to front with right manhood the deadly inextricable jungle of tropical confusions, outer and inner, in which they find themselves. Brave Governors, Fortescue, Sedgwick, Brayne, one after the other, die rapidly, of the climate and of broken heart; their life-fire all spent there, in that dark chaos, and as yet no result visible. It is painful to read what misbehaviour there is, what difficulties there are.[2]

Almost the one steady light-point in the business is the Protector's own spirit of determination. If England have now a 'West-India Interest,' and Jamaica be an Island worth something, it is to this Protector mainly that we owe it. Here too, as in former darknesses, 'Hope shines in him, like a pillar of fire, when it has gone out in all the others.' Having put his hand to this work, he will not for any discouragement turn back. Jamaica shall yet be a colony; Spain and its dark Domdaniel shall yet be smitten to the heart,—the enemies of God and His Gospel, by the soldiers and servants of God. It must, and it shall. We have failed in the West, but not wholly; in

[2] Thurloe, iii. iv.,—in very many places, all in a most unedited, confused condition. Luminous Notices too in Carte's *Ormond Papers*, ii. Long's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), i. 221 et seqq., gives in a vague but tolerably correct way some of the results of *Thurloe*; which Bryan Edwards has abridged. Godwin (iv. 192-200) is exact, so far as he goes.

the West and in the East, by sea and by land, as occasion shall be ministered, we will try it again and again.

'On the 28th of November 1655, the Treaty with France 'is proclaimed by heralds and trumpets,' say the Old Newspapers.[3] Alliance with France, and *Declaration* against Spain, —within the tropics where there is never Peace, and without the tropics where Peace yet is, there shall now be War with Spain. Penn and Venables, cross-questioned till no light farther could be had from them, are dismissed; in Penn's stead, Montague is made Admiral.[4] We will maintain Jamaica, send reinforcement after reinforcement to it; we will try yet for the Spanish Plate Fleets; we will hurl yet bolt after bolt into the dark Domdaniel, and have no Peace with Spain. In all which, as I understand, the spirit of England, mindful of Armadas, and wedded once for all to blessed Gospel Light and Progress, and not to accursed Papal Jesuitry and Stagnancy, coöperates well with this Protector of the Commonwealth of England. Land-fighting too we shall by and by come upon; in all ways, a resolute prosecution of hostilities against Spain. Concerning the 'policy' of which, and real wisdom and unwisdom of which, no reader need consult the current Sceptical Red-tape Histories of that Period, for they are much misinformed on the matter.—

Here are Three Official Letters, or Draughts of Letters, concerning the business of Jamaica; which have come to us in a very obscure, unedited condition, Thomas Birch having been a little idle. Very obscure; and now likely to remain so, they and the others,—unless indeed Jamaica should produce a Poet of its own, pious towards the Hero-Founder of Jamaica, and courageous to venture into the Stygian Quagmires of *Thurloe* and the others, and vanquish them on his and its behalf!

Apparently these Official Letters are First-draughts, in the hand of Thurloe or some underling of his; dictated to him, as is like, by the Protector: they would afterwards be copied-fair, dated, and duly despatched; and only the rough originals, unhappily without date, are now left us. Birch has put them down without much criticism; the arrangement of some is palpably wrong. By the spelling and punctuation we judge them to be of Thurloe's handwriting; but the sense is clearly Oliver's, and probably, with some superficial polishings, the composition.

[3] In *Cromwelliana*, p. 134. [4] Jan. 1655-6 (Thurloe, iv. 338).

They cannot, after much inquiry, be dated except approximately; the originals are gone with Birch, who has not even told us in whose handwriting they were, much less has tried to make any sense of them for himself, the idle ineffectual Editor! In fact, *Thurloe* in regard to these Jamaica businesses has had to go without editing; lies wide-spread, dislocated, dark; and, in this passage, read by Birch's light, is mere darkness visible. One of the Letters, we at length find, is even misaddressed,—seemingly by idle Birch, at random. Happily it is with the sense alone that we are much concerned; and that is in good part legible. Fancy Penn and Venables dismissed, after some light got out of them by cross-questioning; fancy 'Vice-Admiral 'Goodson, Major-General Fortescue, Daniel Serle Governor of 'Barbadoes, and Major-General Sedgwick' new from England, made Commissioners, with Instructions,[5] with full power over Jamaica,—and then read.

## LETTER CCIV.

Vice-Admiral Goodson, as his title indicates, went out as second under Penn; whose place he now fills as chief. Letters of his in *Thurloe* indicate a thick blunt stout-hearted sailor character, not nearly so stupid as he looks; whose rough piety, sense, stoicism, and general manfulness grow luminous to us at last. The Protector hopes 'the Lord may have blessed Good-'son to have lighted upon some of the Enemy's vessels, and 'burnt them;'—which is a hope fulfilled: for Goodson has already been at St. Martha on the Spanish Main, and burnt it; but got few 'ships,' nor any right load of plunder either; the people having had him in sight for six hours before landing, and run away with everything to the woods. He got 'thirty brass guns and two *bases*,' whatever these are. The rest of the plunder, being 'accurately sold at the mast of each ship' by public auction, yielded just 471*l.* sterling, which was a very poor return. At the Rio de Hacha ('Rio de hatch' as we here write it) 'the bay was so shoal' no great ships could get near; and our 'hoys' and small craft, on trying it, saw nothing feasible; wherefore we had drawn back again. Santa Martha, and plunder sold by auction to the amount above stated, was all we could get.[6]

[5] Given in Thurloe, iv. 634. [6] Goodson's Letter, in *Thurloe*, iv. 159 et seqq.

*To Vice-Admiral Goodson, at Jamaica.*

SIR, Whitehall, 'October 1655.'

I have written to Major-General Fortescue divers advertisements of our purpose and resolution, the Lord willing, to prosecute this Business; and you shall not want bodies of men nor yet anything in our power for the carrying-on of the work. I have also given divers hints unto him of things which may probably be attempted, and should[7] be very diligently looked after by you both; but are left to your better judgments upon the place. Wherein I desire you would consult together how to prosecute your affairs with that brotherly kindness that upon no colour whatsoever any divisions or distractions should be amongst you, but that you may have one shoulder to the work; which will be very pleasing to the Lord; and not unnecessary, considering what an enemy you are like to have to deal withal.

We hope that you have with 'you' some of those ships which came last, near Twenty men-of-war; which I desire you to keep equipt, and make yourselves as strong as you can to beat the Spaniard, who will doubtless send a good force into the Indies. I hope, by this time the Lord may have blessed you to have light upon some of their vessels,—whether by burning them in their harbours or otherwise. And it will be worthy of you to improve your strength, what you can, both to weaken them by parcels, and to engage them as you have opportunity,—which, at such a distance I may probably guess, would be best 'managed' by not suffering, if you can help it, the new Fleet, which comes from Spain, to go unfought, before they join with the ships that are to the Leeward of you.

We are sending to you, with all possible speed, Seven

[7] 'would' in orig.

more stout men-of-war, some of them forty guns, and the rest not under thirty, for your assistance. This Ship goes before, with instructions, to encourage you to go on in the work; and also with instructions to Mevis, and the other Windward Islands, to bring so many of the Plantations as are free to come, 'that they may settle with you at Jamaica.' And I desire you, with your lesser merchant-ships or such others as you can spare, to give all possible assistance for their removal and transplantation, from time to time, as also all due encouragement to remove them.

You will see by the Enclosed what I have writ to Major-General Fortescue. And I hope your counsels will enter into that which may be for the glory of God and good of this Nation. It is not to be denied but the Lord hath greatly humbled us in that sad loss sustained at Hispaniola; and we doubt we have provoked the Lord; and it is good for us to know and to be abased for the same. But yet certainly His name is concerned in the work; and therefore though we should, and I hope do, lay our mouths in the dust, yet He would not have us despond, but I trust give us leave to make mention of His name and of His righteousness, when we cannot make mention of our own. You are left there; and I pray you set-up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His Cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for our sins, and through (also we may say) the misguidance of some, work-up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the redemption of His honour from the hands of men who attribute their success to their Idols, the work of their own hands. And though He hath torn us, yet He will heal us; though He hath smitten us, yet He will bind us up; after two days He will revive us, in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight.[8] The Lord Himself hath a contro-

[8] Hosea, vi. 1, 2.

versy with your Enemies; even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles;—and in this the Scriptures are most plain. The Lord therefore strengthen you with faith, and cleanse you from all evil: and doubt not but He is able, and I trust as willing, to give you as signal success as He gave your enemies against you. Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you.[9]

If we send you not by this, I trust we shall by the next, our Declaration setting forth the justness of this War. I remain, your loving friend, OLIVER P.*

The *Declaration* here alluded to, of War with Spain, came out on Tuesday, 23d October 1655;[10] which with sufficient approximation dates this Letter for us. By obscure intimations, allusions to events, and even by recurrence of phrases, the following Letter seems to have the same or a closely subsequent date; but no sense could be made of it till the Address, 'Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica' (which, being nonsense, we have to impute to Birch), was erased,—was altered, by dim lights[11] and guessings still a little uncertain, as below.

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## LETTER CCV.

*'To Daniel Serle, Esquire, Governor of Barbadoes.'*

SIR, 'Whitehall, October 1655.'

These are first to let you know that myself and the Government reckon ourselves beholden[12] to you for the ready expressions of your love in giving assistance to our late Design.[13] Which indeed, though it hath miscarried

9 No other fear; nor is there need of any other hope or strength!
* Thurloe, iv. 130.
10 Thurloe, iv. 117; Godwin, iv. 217; Antea, p. 140.
11 Thurloe, iv. 633, &c. &c.
12 'beholding' in orig.; as the old phrase usually is.
13 Hispaniola: to which Serle, at Barbadoes, had given due furtherance, as the Expedition passed.

in what we hoped for, through the disposing hand of God, for reasons best known to Himself, and as we may justly conceive for our sins,—yet is not this Cause the less His, but will be owned by Him, as I verily believe: and therefore we dare not relinquish it;[14] but shall, the Lord assisting, prosecute it with what strength we can, hoping for 'a' blessing for His name's sake.

You will receive some Instructions,[15] with encouragements to remove your people thither. Whereto I refer you: only let me tell you, that if you shall think to desire some other things which are not mentioned in those Instructions, 'you may' rest upon my word that we shall be most ready to supply what they may be defective in, or you may reasonably demand when once you are upon the place,—where certainly you may be better able to judge what may tend most to your accommodation than at a distance. Surely the sooner you remove thither,[16] you will have the more time to strengthen yourself, in such place and upon such part as you shall like of. And for your own part, I have named you one of the Commissioners there for managing of the whole affair; whereby you will have your vote and interest in that Government.

Having said this, I think fit to let you know that we have Twenty men-of-war already there, and are sending Eight more, many whereof have forty guns and upwards, and the rest above thirty.[17] We hope the Plantation is not wanting in anything; having at the least Seven-thousand fighting-men upon the place: and we are providing to supply them constantly with fresh men: and we trust they

[14] No!

[15] Thurloe, iv. 633-7; worth reading, though in great want of editing.

[16] Will mean, if our Addressing of this Letter is correct, that it had at one time been intended and decided to send Serle of Barbadoes, an experienced man, the ablest and principal English Governor in the West Indies, to take charge of Jamaica himself. Which however, in the quick succession of new lights and occurrences, never came to pass.

[17] Same phrase in the preceding Letter. L

are furnished with a twelvemonth's victuals;—and I think, if we have it in England, they shall not want.

We have also sent to the Colonies of New England like offers with yours,[18] To remove thither; our resolution being to people and plant that Island. And indeed we have very good reason to expect considerable numbers from thence, forasmuch as the last winter was very destructive, and the summer hath proved so very sickly.

I pray God direct you; and rest, your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'*

Undoubtedly to 'Daniel Serle,' or else to 'Major-General Sedgwick,' the other of the Four new Commissioners, this Letter must have been addressed. With either of which Addresses it remains historically somewhat obscure; but is legible enough for our purposes with it here. The next seems to be of slightly later date.

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## LETTER CCVI.

*To Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica.*

SIR, 'Whitehall, November 1655.'

You will herewith receive Instructions for the better carrying-on of your business; which is not of small account here, though our discouragements have been many; for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath very sorely chastened us. I do commend, in the midst of others' miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust in every 'situation'[19] where you are, and 'your' taking care of a "company of poor sheep left by their shepherd:"[20] and be assured that, as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good savour here with all

[18] Encouragements to them, as to 'your' Colony, to emigrate thither.
* Thurloe, iv. 130.
[19] Word torn.
[20] Fortescue's own expression: in a Letter of 21st July 1655 (Thurloe, iii. 675).

good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me as opportunity shall serve.

I hope you have long before this time received that good supply which went from hence in July last,[21] whereby you will perceive that you have not been forgotten here. I hope also the ships sent for New England are, before this time, with you:[22]—and let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in prosecuting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, That you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford, or you want.

And therefore study first your security by fortifying: and although you have not moneys, for the present, to do it in such quantities as were to be wished; yet, your case being as that of a marching army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at pains to secure the common quarter,—we hope no man amongst you will be so wanting to himself, considering food is provided for you, as not to be willing to help to the uttermost therein. And therefore I require you and all with you, for the safety of the whole, that this be made your most principal intention. The doing of this will require that you be very careful not to scatter, till you have begun a security in some one place.—Next I desire you that you would consider how to form such a Body of good Horse as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at his next coming into the Indies with his Galeons, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landing; who will

[21] Vaughan, i. 303; Thurloe, iv. 4.

[22] Thurloe, iv. 157; one, the first of them, did arrive, Nov. 1st: sent from Jamaica to New England for provisions.'

hardly land upon a body of horse; and if he shall land, 'you will' be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards you.

We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence.[23] We have done the like to the Windward English Islands; and both in England and Scotland and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport.

We think, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas: and therefore we could heartily wish that the Island of Providence were in our hands again; believing that it lies so advantageously in reference to the Main, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Carthagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprisal, but 'might' even block-up Carthagena.[24] It is discoursed here that, if the Spaniard do attempt upon you, it is most likely it will be upon the East end of the Island, towards Cuba; as also 'that' Cuba, in its chief Town, is a place[25] easily attempted, and hath in it a very rich copper-mine. It would be good, for the first, as you have opportunity, to inform yourself; and if there be need, to make a good work upon the East end of your Island, to prevent them. And for the other, and all things of that kind, we must leave them to your judgment upon the place, to do therein as you shall see cause.

To conclude: As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sins as well as others', so, truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and

[23] Long Correspondences about it, and details, from assiduous Mr. Gookin, chief of those Commissioners, in *Thurloe*, iv.

[24] 'the same' in orig.

[25] 'Cuba upon Cuba is a place,' as the original has it. The first 'Cuba' here must, of course, mean Cuba *Town*, now Havana.

confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement. 'I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER P.'*

The brave Fortescue never received this Letter; he already lay in his grave when it was written; had died in October last,[26] a speedy victim of the bad climate and desperate situation. Brave Sedgwick, his Partner and Successor, soon died also:[27] a very brave, zealous and pious man, whose Letters in *Thurloe* are of all others the best worth reading on this subject. Other brave men followed, and soon died; spending heroically their remnant of life-fire there,—as heroes do, 'making paths through the impassable.' But we must leave the heroisms of Oliver Protector and his Puritans, in this Jamaica Business, to the reader's fancy henceforth, — till perhaps some Jamaica *Poet* rise to resuscitate and extricate them. Reinforcement went on the back of reinforcement, during this Protector's lifetime: 'a Thousand Irish Girls' went; not to speak of the rogue-and-vagabond species from Scotland,—'we can help you' at any time 'to two or three hundred of these.'[28] And so at length a West-India Interest did take root; and bears spices and poisons, and other produce, to this day.

## LETTERS CCVII.—CCXIV.

TAKE the following Letters in mass; and make some dim History of Eleven Months from them, as best may be.

* Thurloe, iv. 633.

[26] Ibid. iv. 153.

[27] 24th June 1656 (Long's *History of Jamaica*, i. 257).

[28] Long, i. 244; Thurloe, iv. 692-5:—new Admonitions and Instructions from the Protector, of Thurloe's writing, 17th June 1656 (Thurloe, v. 129-131); &c.

## LETTER CCVII.

HENRY CROMWELL has no Major-Generals in Ireland, but has his anarchies there also to deal with. Let him listen to this good advice on the subject.

*For my Son Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland.*

SON, 'Whitehall,' 21st November 1655.

I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and do find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs.

I do believe there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their discontent as they have opportunity: but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, if they are found in other ways towards you. Which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it; and shall not be wanting to send you some farther addition to the Council, so soon as men can be found out who are fit for the trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit person who may command the North of Ireland; which I believe stands in great need of one; and 'I' am of your opinion that Trevor and Colonel Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you

move the Council that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better.

I commend you to the Lord; and rest, your affectionate father, OLIVER P.*

'The Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe,' which is responded to in this wise and magnanimous manner, does not appear in *Thurloe* or elsewhere. November 14th, a week before the date of this, Henry writing to Thurloe excuses his present brevity, his last Letter having been so very copious: that copious Letter, now lost, is probably the one in question here.

'*November 22d*,' the day after this Letter, 'came several 'accounts from the Major-Generals out of divers Counties. Out 'of Norfolk it was certified that Cleveland the Poet and one 'Sherland a wild Parson were apprehended' at Norwich 'by 'Colonel Haynes,'[1] the Lord Fleetwood's Substitute in those regions. This is John Cleveland the famed Cantab Scholar, Royalist Judge-Advocate, and thrice-illustrious Satirist and son of the Muses; who 'had gone through eleven editions' in those times, far transcending all Miltons and all mortals,—and does not now need any twelfth edition, that we hear of. Still recognisable for a man of lively parts, and brilliant petulant character; directed, alas, almost wholly to the *worship of clothes*,—which is by nature a transient one! His good fortune quitted him, I think, nine years ago, when David Lesley took him prisoner in Newark. A stinging satire against the Scots had led Cleveland to expect at least martyrdom on this occasion; but Lesley merely said, "Let the poor knave go and sell his ballads;"[2] and dismissed him,—towards thin diet, and a darkness which has been deepening ever since. Very low now at Norwich, where he is picked-up by Colonel Haynes: 'Thirty pounds a year;' 'lives with a gentleman to whom he is giving some instruction;'—unfortunate son of the Muses. He indites a highflown magnanimous epistle to Cromwell, on this new misfortune; who likewise magnanimously dismisses him,[3] to 'sell his ballads' at what little they will bring.

* Thurloe, i. 726.
[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 154); Thurloe, iv. 185.
[2] *Biog. Britan.* (2d edit.), iii. 531:—very ignorantly told there.
[3] Life of Cleveland, prefixed to his *Poems*.

*Wednesday December 12th*, 1655. This day, 'in a withdrawing-room at Whitehall,' presided over by his Highness, who is much interested in the matter, was held 'a Conference concerning the Jews';[4]—of which the modern reader too may have heard something. Conference, one of Four Conferences, publicly held, which filled all England with rumour in those old December days; but must now contract themselves into a point for us. Highest official Persons, with Lord Chief Barons, Lord Chief Justices, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scripture-prophecy, and every source of light for the human mind, concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near Four-hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is 'Manasseh Ben Israel,' a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred-up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing. And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake;—and says one witness, "I never heard a man speak so well."[5] His Highness was eager for the scheme, if so might be. But the Scripture-prophecies, Law-learnings, and lights of the human mind seemed to point another way; zealous Manasseh went home again; the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of his Highness;—and the matter contracts itself into a point for us.[6]

This same Jew-Wednesday, Wednesday the 12th, as a laborious unimportant computation shows, was the 'evening' when Republican Ludlow had the first interview with his Highness and certain of his Council 'in the Protector's bed-chamber.'[7] Solid Ludlow has been in Ireland; dreadfully sulky ever since this Protectorate began. Solid Ludlow never would acknowledge any Single Person, never he; not though the Single Person "were his own father." He has nevertheless, by certain written 'engagements,' contrived to get across from Ireland,

[4] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 154).

[5] Sir Paul Rycaut (in Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 77;—as cited by Godwin, iv. 299).

[6] Godwin, iv. 243-9.—To 'Manasseth Ben Israel, a Pension of 100*l.* per annum, payable quarterly, and commencing 20th February 1656' (1657): Privy-Seals of Oliver; in Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 263.

[7] Ludlow, ii. 551 et seqq.

with much trouble by the road; but will not now give any promise satisfactory to his Highness. "He will be peaceable; yes, " so long as he sees no chance otherwise: but if he see a " chance—!—Should like, notwithstanding, to breathe a little " air in his own country; that is all he is wanting for the pre- " sent!" In fact, our solid friend is firm as brass, or oak-timber; altogether obstinate indeed, not to say dogged and mulish. The Protector, who has a respect for the solid man, and whose course is conciliation in such cases, permits him to reside in Essex; keeping his eye upon him.

We might speak also of the famed 'Committee of Trade,' which has now begun its sessions 'in the Old House of Lords.' An Assemblage of Dignitaries, Chief Merchants, Political Economists, convened by summons of his Highness;[8] consulting zealously how the Trade of this country may be improved. A great concernment of the Commonwealth, 'which his Highness is eagerly set upon.' They consulted of 'Swedish Copperas,' and suchlike; doing faithfully what they could.

Of these things we might speak; but prefer to end the year by this small interesting fraction of Domestic Gossip, coming to us in a small flute-voice across the loud Disturbances, which are fallen silent now, more silent now than even it! Sorry only that nobody can inform us who this blameworthy 'person' in the Lord Henry Cromwell's house is, or what her misdoings are: but the reader, skilled in perennial human nature, can sufficiently supply these, and listen to the ancient small flute-voice with intelligence:

*The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.*

" 'Hampton-Court,' 7th December 1655.

" DEAR BROTHER,—I cannot be any longer without begging " an excuse for my so long silence. You cannot but hear of " my Sister's illness; which indeed has been the only cause of " it. You might justly take it ill otherwise, and think there " were want of that affection I owe unto you.

" Indeed, dear Brother, it was a great deal of trouble to " me to think I should give you any occasion to think amiss of

[8] Whitlocke, p. 618 (2d Nov. 1655).

" me: for I can truly say it, you are very dear to me; and it " is a great trouble to me to think of the distance we are from " one another; and would be more, if I did not think you are " doing the Lord's service;—and truly that ought to satisfy us; " for while we are here, we cannot expect but that we must be " separated. Dear Brother, the Lord direct you in His ways, " and keep your heart close unto Himself. And I am sure, " therein you will have true comfort; and that will last when " all this world shall pass away.

" I cannot but give you some item of One that is with you, " who, 'it' is so much feared by your friends that love you, is " some dishonour to you and my dear Sister, if you have not a " great care. For it is reported here, that she rules much in " your Family; and truly it is feared that she is a discounten- " ancer of the Godly People. Therefore, dear Brother, take it " not ill, that I give you an item of her: for, truly, if I did not " love both you and your honour, I would not give you notice " of her. Therefore I hope you will not take it ill, that I have " dealt thus plainly with you. I suppose you know who it is " I mean, therefore I desire to be excused for not naming her. " I desire not to be seen in it; and therefore desire you that " you would not take the least notice of my writing to you about " it: because I was desired not to speak of it;—nor should I, " but that I know you will not take it amiss from your poor " Sister who loves you.

" Dear Brother, I take leave to rest—your sister and ser- " vant, MARY CROMWELL.

" Her Highness[9] desires to have her love to you and my " Sister; and my Sister Franke her respects to you both."[10]

'My Sister Franke' and the Lady Mary, these are my 'two little wenches,' grown now to be women; with dress-caps, fresh blossoming hearts, musical glib tongues,—not uninteresting to men! Anthony Ashley Cooper, I am told, is looking towards this Lady Mary; now turned of Eighteen,[11] and a desirable match for any youth of ambition,—but not attainable, I doubt, by Ashley.

[9] 'our Mother.' [10] Thurloe, iv. 293. [11] Vol. i. p. 60.

## LETTER CCVIII.

HE that builds by the wayside has many masters! Henry Cromwell, we perceive by all symptoms,[12] has no holiday task of it; needs energy, vigilance, intelligence,—needs almost unlimited patience first of all. With a hot proud temper of his own to strive against, too; and is not nine-and-twenty yet: a young man whose carriage hitherto merits high praise. Anabaptist Colonels 'preach' against him; Fleetwood, at headquarters, has perhaps a tendency to favour Anabaptist Colonels, and send them over hither to us? Colonel Hewson, here in Ireland, he, with a leaning that way, has had correspondences, has even had an 'Answer' from the Lord Protector (now lost), whereupon have risen petitionings, colloquies, caballings,—much loud unreason to absorb into oneself, and convert at least into silence! 'Be not troubled with that Business; we understand the men:' no;—and on the whole, read, and be encouraged, and go on your way.

*For my Son Harry Cromwell.*

HARRY, 'Whitehall,' 21st April 1656.

I have received your Letters, and have also seen some from you to others; and am sufficiently satisfied of your burden, and that if the Lord be not with you, to enable you to bear it, you are in a very sad condition.

I am glad to hear what I have heard of your carriage: study still to be innocent; and to answer every occasion, roll yourself upon God,—which to do needs much grace. Cry to the Lord to give you a plain single heart. Take heed of being over-jealous, lest your apprehensions of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you; in this be confident against men.

I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault! It will not reach *you*,

[12] See his Letters to Thurloe: *Thurloe*, iv. 254-608 (Letters from Nov. 1655 to April 1656).

whilst you with singleness of heart make the glory of the Lord your aim. Take heed of professing religion without the power: that will teach you to love all who are after the similitude of Christ. Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over-concerned may train you into a snare.—I have to do with those poor men; and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak; because they are so peremptory in judging others. I quarrel not with them but in their seeking to supplant others; which is done by some, first by branding them with antichristianism, and then taking away their maintenance.

Be not troubled with the late Business: we understand the men. Do not fear the sending of any over to you but such as will be considering men, loving all godly interests, and men 'that' will be friends to justice.—Lastly, take heed of studying to lay for yourself the foundation of a great estate. It will be a snare to you: they will watch you; bad men will be confirmed in covetousness. The thing is an evil which God abhors. I pray you think of me in this.

If the Lord did not sustain me, I were undone: but I live, and I shall live, to the good pleasure of His grace; I find mercy at need. The God of all grace keep you. I rest, your loving father, OLIVER P.

My love to my dear Daughter (whom I frequently pray for) and to all friends.*

Such a Letter, like a staff dipped in honeycomb and brought to one's lips, is enough to enlighten the eyes of a wearied Sub-Deputy; and cheer him, a little, on his way! To prove that you can conquer every opponent, to found a great estate: not these, or the like of these, be your aims, Son Harry. 'I pray you think of me in this.' And, on the whole, heed not the

* Autograph in the possession of Sir W. Betham (Ulster King of Arms), Dublin.

foolish noises, the fatuous lights ; heed the eternal Loadstars and celestial Silences,—and vigilantly march : so shall you too perhaps 'find mercy at need.'

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## LETTER CCIX.

NEW Sea-Armaments, and ever new, are fitted out against the Spaniards and their Papist Domdaniel. Penn being dismissed, Councillor Colonel Montague, already in the Admiralty, was made Sea-General last January in his stead; and now Blake and he have their flags flying somewhere off Cadiz Bay, it would appear.

*To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.*

MY LOVING FRIENDS, Whitehall, 28th April 1656.

You have, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going 'on' for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved Ministers and Christians in this Nation; and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you : which is to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our All-wise Father ; who, not only out of prerogative, but because of His wisdom, goodness and truth, ought to be resigned-unto by His creatures, and most especially by those who are children of His begetting through the Spirit. We have been lately taught[13] that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson. We can no more turn away the Evil, as we call it, than attain the Good : And therefore Solomon's counsel, of doing what we have to do with all

[13] In the affair of Hispaniola, &c.

our might, 'and' getting our hearts wholly submitted, if not to rejoicing, at least to contentation with whatsoever shall be dispensed by Him to whom alone the issues of all things do belong, is worthy to be received by us.[14]

Wherefore we have thought fit to send this honest man, Captain Lloyd, who is known to us to be a person of integrity, to convey to you some thoughts,—wherein we do only offer to you such things as do arise to us, partly upon intelligence, and partly upon such a measure as we at such a distance take of that great affair wherein you are engaged; desiring to give no rule to you; but building, under God, much more upon your judgments on the place than 'upon' our own; forasmuch as our intelligences, coming much upon the examination of Merchants' ships and such ways, may not be true oftentimes in matter of fact. And therefore we do offer what we have to say rather as queries than 'as' resolutions.

We are informed that not many of the Plate Fleet are come home; viz. two Galeons and two Pataches;[15] and we hear they are not so rich as they gave out. We are informed also that the Spaniards' Fleet in Cadiz is in no preparation to come out; and some think they will not come forth, but delay you upon the coast, until your victuals are spent, and you forced to come home. We apprehend that, when General Blake was there last year, they could not have told how to have manned-out a Fleet, if the Merchants there and gentlemen interested had not (principally for their own interest in the return of the 'Plate' Fleet) done it.

We are informed that they sent what men they could well spare, by those Six or Seven ships which they sent to

[14] Yes, I should say so;—as indeed the whole Universe, since it first had any glimmerings of intelligence in it, has said!

[15] *Galeone*, in the Spanish Dictionary, is defined as an 'Armed ship of burden 'used for trade in time of war;' *Patache*, as 'a Tender, or smaller ship to wait upon 'the *Galeone*.'

the West Indies in March last. We know also that it hath ever been accounted that the Spaniards' great want is men,—as well as money at this time. What numbers are in and about Cadiz you best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this Fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntal and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the Island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge,[16] the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar,—which if possessed and made tenable by us,[17] would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge?

You may discourse freely with the Bearer concerning anything contained in this Letter, to whom the whole was communicated, that so he might be able to bring back to us a more particular account of things. The Lord guide you to do that which may be pleasing in His sight. I remain, your very loving friend, OLIVER P.*

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## LETTER CCX.

CADIZ could not be attempted. Here, eight days later, is another message to the same parties, concerning another business. 'The Portugal,' it appears, has been behaving in a very

[16] Means 'noways to be separated from the Mainland, by ruining its Bridge:' Cadiz were thus in reality *isolated*.

[17] Hear, hear!

* Thurloe, iv. 744.

paltry fashion; and now 'Mr. Meadows,' one of Thurloe's Under-Secretaries, is gone out to him; whose remonstrances, the Fleet lending them its emphasis, will probably be effectual!

*To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.*

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 6th May 1656.

You will perceive, by the Instructions[18] herewith sent you, what is expected by the Council and myself at your hands. And although we are satisfied that you will believe we have sufficient grounds to give you these Directions, yet we have thought fit, for the farther strengthening you unto this Action, to give you a short knowledge of the true state of the Difference between us and the King of Portugal.

You very well know that it is very near two years since we and the Ambassador of Portugal did agree a Treaty; they having wronged us and our Merchants, and taken part with the late King against us. When the Articles were fully agreed by the Ambassador, who had full power and authority to conclude with us, we on our part ratified and confirmed the same, and sent it to the King of Portugal to be ratified and executed by him also. He, delaying to do it according to the first Agreement, in which there were some preliminaries to be performed by him before we could enter upon the whole body of a Treaty,—not only refused to give us satisfaction therein, but instead thereof sent us a pretended Ratification of a Treaty, so different from what was agreed by his Ambassador that it was quite another thing. In 'regard to' some essential Articles, it was proposed that if we would condescend to some amendments, the King of Portugal would 'then' agree to confirm the whole.

[18] Thurloe, iv. 769: brief 'instructions,' To seize the Portugal's ships, fleets, almost the Portugal's self, if he will not do justice.

Whereupon we sent Mr. Maynard to have the Treaty consummated: but finding by the answer he gave us,[19] that there was little reality, and nothing but delays intended, we could not satisfy ourselves without sending another Person, fully instructed, and authorised by us to take away all scruples by yielding to their own amendments; thereby to discern whether they were sincere[20] or not. But, contrary to all expectation, we find, by the account the said Person hath given us, that we are put upon it to recede from all those things that were provisional, either for the good of the State or of our Merchants, or else we must have no Peace with them.[21]

In one of the Articles agreed with the Ambassador, it was expressed, That the Merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience, in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships; enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books; taking care that they did not exceed this liberty. Now, upon the sending of Mr. Meadows, —unless we will agree to submit this Article to the determination of the Pope, we cannot have it: whereby he would bring us to an owning of the Pope; which, we hope, whatever befall us, we shall not, by the grace of God, be brought unto.[22] And upon the same issue is that Article put whereby it is provided and agreed by his Ambassador, That any ships coming to that harbour, any of their company that shall run away from the said ships shall be brought back again by the Magistrate; and the Commanders of the said ships 'shall' not 'be' required to pay the said runaways their wages, upon pretence 'that' they are turned Catholics,—which may be a colour for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholics to seduce our men. This we thought necessary to be provided against. Yet to

[19] 'by his return' in orig.
[20] 'real' in orig.
[21] Let them have a care!
[22] No!

this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the Pope, although it was agreed by their Ambassador too.

Upon the whole matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest. And truly we cannot believe that Article that was for our good, was 'ever' really intended by them. And we may now plainly see what the effect is like to be of any Treaty had or made with people or states guided by such principles, who, when they have agreed, have such an evasion as these people have manifestly held forth in their dealing with us. Wherefore we pray you to be very exact in your prosecution of your Instructions; which truly I hope do not arise from the hope of gain, but from a sense of duty. For, seeing we cannot secure our People in their lives, liberties and estates by a Pretence of a Treaty; nor yet answer the just demands this Nation hath for wrongs done them; but must in some sort be guilty of bringing our People as it were into a net, by such specious shows which have nothing but falseness and rottenness in them;—we are necessitated, having amongst ourselves found out no possible expedient, though we have industriously sought it, to salve these things; we, out of necessity 'I say,' and not out of choice, have concluded to go in this way.

You will receive herewith the Copy of an Instruction given and sent to Mr. Meadows, wherein is a time limited for the King's answer: and we desire that this may not be made use of by the King to delay or deceive us: nor that you, upon the first sight hereof, delay to take the best course you can to effect your Instructions, — or that the Portugal should get his Fleet home before you get between him and home, and so the birds be flown.

We know not what your affairs are at the present; but are confident that nothing will be wanting on your part for

the effectual accomplishment of this Service. But knowing that all ways, and works, and ourselves, are ever at the perfect disposition of the Lord and His providence, and that our times are in His hands,—we therefore recommend you to the grace and guidance of our good God, who, we hope, hath thoughts of mercy towards us: and that He would guide and bless you is the prayer of, your very loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'*

In Thurloe's handwriting; but very evidently Oliver's composition every sentence of it. There will clearly be no living for the Portugal, unless he decide to throw away his jockeyings and jesuitries, and do what is fair and square!

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## LETTER CCXI.

A SMALL vestige, it is presumable, of this Protector's solicitude for the encouragement of Learning and Learned Men. Which is a feature of his character very conceivable to us, and well demonstrated otherwise by testimony of facts and persons. Such we shall presume the purport of this small Civic Message to be:

*For Our worthy Friends the Committee of the City of London for Gresham College: These.*

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 9th May 1656.

We understanding that you have appointed an election this afternoon of a Geometry Professor in Gresham College,—We desire you to suspend the same for some time, till We shall have an opportunity to speak with some of you in order to that business. I rest, your loving friend,

OLIVER P.†

* Thurloe, iv. 768.
† Original, with Oliver's Signature, now (1846) in the Guildhall Library, London.

Historical Neal says zealously, 'If there was a man in Eng-
'land who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector
'would find him out, and reward him according to his merit.'
The renowned Dr. Cudworth in Cambridge, I have likewise expressly read, had commission to mark among the ingenuous youth of that University such as he deemed apt for Public Employment, and to make the Protector aware of them. Which high and indeed sacred function we find the Doctor, as occasion offers, intent to discharge.[23] The choice this Protector made of men,—'in nothing was his good understanding better discovered;' 'which gave a general satisfaction to the Public,' say the Histories.[24] As we can very well believe! He who is himself a true man, has a chance to know the truth of men when he sees them; he who is not, has none: and as for the poor Public and its satisfactions,—alas, is not the kind of 'man' you set upon it the liveliest symbol of its, and your, veracity and victory and blessedness, or unveracity and misery and cursedness; the general summation, and practical outcome, of all else whatsoever in the Public, and in you?

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## LETTER CCXII.

ANOTHER small Note still extant; relating to very small, altogether domestic matters.

'*For my loving Son Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley: These.*'

SON, 'Whitehall,' 29th May 1656.

You know there hath often been a desire to sell Newhall, because in these four years last past it hath yielded very little or no profit at all, nor did I ever hear you ever liked it for a Seat.

It seems there may be a chapman had, who will give 18,000*l.* It shall either be laid out where you shall desire;

[23] Thurloe, iii. 614; v. 522; &c. [24] Burnet, in Neal, ii. 514; ib. ii. 461, 494.

at Mr. Wallop's, or elsewhere, and the money put into feoffees' hands in trust to be so disposed: or I shall settle Burleigh; which yields near 1,300*l.*[25] *per annum*, besides the woods. Waterhouse will give you farther information. I rest, your loving father, OLIVER P.

My love to your Father and Mother,[26] and your dear Wife.*

Newhall is the House and Estate in Essex which had once belonged to the great Duke of Buckingham. Burleigh I guess to be Burleigh on the Hill, near Oakham, another House of the great Duke's, which Oliver in the beginning of his military services had known well: he took it by assault in 1643. Of Oliver's Lands, or even of his Public Lands granted by the Parliament, much more of the successive phases his Estate assumed by new purchase and exchange, there is, as we once observed already, no exact knowledge now anywhere to be had. Obscure incidental notices flit through the Commons Journals and other Records; but the sum of the matter alike with the details of it are sunk in antique Law-Parchments, in obliterated Committee-Papers, far beyond human sounding. Of the Lands he *died* possessed of, there is a List extant, more or less accurate; which is worth looking at here. On quitting the Protectorship in 1659, Richard Cromwell, with the hope of having his debts paid and some fixed revenue allowed him, gave-in a Schedule of his Liabilities and of his Properties, the latter all in Land; which Schedule poor Noble has found *somewhere*;[27] and copied, probably with blunders. Subjoined is his List of the Properties, some of them misspelt, most likely; the exact localities of which, no indication being given or sought by Noble, may be a problem for persons learned in such matters.[28] To us, only Burleigh and Newhall are of importance here.

[25] Written above is '1,260*l.*' [26] Mr. and Mrs. Mayor of Hursley.

* Original in the possession of Henry William Field, Esq., of the Royal Mint.

[27] *Not* where he says he did, 'in *Commons Journals*, 14th May 1659' (Noble, i. 333-4).

[28] REAL ESTATE IN 1659.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dalby* | settled on my Brother Henry Cromwell upon marriage: worth a-year | £989 | 9 | 1 |
| *Broughton* | | 533 | 8 | 8 |
| Gower | | 479 | 0 | 0 |
| Newhall with woods, settled for security of 15,000*l.* for a Portion for my Sister Frances | | 1200 | 0 | 0 |

Newhall, we can observe, was not sold on the occasion of this Letter, nor at all sold; for it still stands in the List of 1659; and with some indication, too, as to what the cause of now trying to sell it may have been. 'For a Portion to my Sister Frances,' namely. Noble's citations from Morant's *History of Essex;* his and Morant's blunderings and somnambulancies, in regard to this matter of Newhall, seem almost to approach the sublime.[29]

Leaving these, let us attend a little to the 'Portion for my Sister Frances;' concerning which and whom a few lines of musical domestic gossip, interesting to the mind, are once more audible, from the same flute-voice above listened to. 'Mr. Rich,' we should premise, is the Lord Rich's Son, the Earl of Warwick's Grandson; heir-apparent, though he did not live to be heir:—pious old Earl of Warwick, whom we have seen heretofore as Admiral in the Long-Parliament time; the poor Earl of Holland's Brother. Here are affairs of the heart, romances of reality, such as have to go on in all times, under all dialects and fashions of dress-caps, Puritan-Protectoral and other.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chepstall | £549 | 7 | 3 |
| Magore | 448 | 0 | 0 |
| Tydenham | 3121 | 9 | 6 |
| Woolaston | 664 | 16 | 6 |
| Chaulton with woods | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| *Burleigh* | 1236 | 12 | 8 |
| *Okham* | 326 | 14 | 11 |
| *Egleton* | 79 | 11 | 6 |

These are all the Lands at this date in the possession of the Oliver Family. The five names printed here in italics are still recognisable: Villiers (Duke of Buckingham) Properties all of these; the first two in Leicestershire, the last three contiguous to one another in Rutlandshire: of the others I at present (A.D. 1845) know nothing. As to poor Richard's finance-budget, encumbered 'with 2,000*l.* yearly to my Mother,' 'with 3,000*l.* of debt contracted in my Father's lifetime,' and plentifully otherwise,—it shall not concern us farther.

(*Note of* 1857.) The other Properties have now also been discovered: Lands, these, of the confiscated Marquis of Worcester; all of them in the South-Wales or Ragland quarter. 'Gower' is in Glamorgan, not far from Swansea; 'Chepstall' is *Chepstow;* 'Tydenham, *Tidenham*, in the same neighbourhood; 'Woolaston' is in Gloucestershire, four miles from Chepstow; 'Chaulton,'one of the *Charltons* in the same county; 'Magore,' *Magor* (St. Mary's) in Monmouthshire. For *Gower, Tidenham, Magor,* and their connexion with Cromwell, there is still direct proof; for the others, which are all Ragland manors too, there is thus presumption to the verge of proof. So that all these Properties, in Richard's Schedule, are either Buckingham or else Worcester ones,—grants by the Nation;—and of 'my ould land' (now settled otherwise, or indeed not concerned in this question) there is no mention here. (Newspaper called *Notes and Queries*, Nos. 21-28; London, 23d March-11th May 1850.)

[29] Noble, i. 334-5.

*The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Forces in Ireland.*

"'Hampton Court,' 23d June 1656.

"DEAR BROTHER,—Your kind Letters do so much engage "my heart towards you, that I can never tell how to express "in writing the true affection and value I have for you,—who, "truly I think, none that knows you but you may justly claim "it from.[30]

"I must confess myself in a great fault in omitting to "write to you and your dear Wife so long a time. But I sup- "pose you cannot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has "been the only cause; which is this business of my Sister "Frances and Mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for these "three months I think our Family, and myself in particular, "have been in the greatest confusion and trouble as ever "poor Family can be in. The Lord tell us His 'mind'[31] "in it; and settle us, and make us what He would have us to "be! I suppose you heard of the breaking-off of the busi- "ness; and, according to your desire in your last Letter, as "well as I can, I shall give you a full account of it. Which "is this:

"After a quarter of a year's admittance, my Father and my "Lord Warwick began to treat about the Estate; and it seems "my Lord did not offer that which my Father expected. I "need not name particulars: for I suppose you have had them "from better hands: but if I may say the truth, I think it was "not so much estate, as from private reasons which my Father "discovered to none but to my Sister Frances and his own "Family;—which was a dislike to the young person. Which "he had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given "to play and suchlike things; which office was done by some "who had a mind to break-off the match. My Sister, hearing "these things, was resolved to know the truth of it;[32] and "truly did find all the reports to be false that were recited of "him. And to tell you the truth, they were so much engaged "in affection before this, that she could not think of breaking "it off. So that my Sister engaged me and all the friends "she had, who truly were very few, to speak in her behalf to

[30] Young-Lady's grammar! [31] Word torn out. [32] Poor little Frances!

" my Father. Which we did ; but could not be heard to any " purpose : only this my Father promised, That if he were " satisfied as to the report, the estate should not break it off. " With which she was satisfied.

" And so after this, there was a second Treaty ; and my " Lord Warwick desired my Father, To name what it was he " demanded more ; and to his utmost he would satisfy him. " So my Father upon this made new propositions ; which my " Lord Warwick has answered as much as he can. But it " seems there are Five-hundred pounds a year in my Lord " Rich's hands ; which he has power to sell : and there are " some people, who persuade his Highness, that it would be " dishonourable for him to conclude it unless these 500*l.* a " year be settled upon Mr. Rich, after his father's death. " And my Lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, be- " cause he is not so bad as himself, will not agree to it ; and " these people upon this persuade my Father, That it would " be a dishonour to him to yield upon these terms ; it would " show, that he was made a fool of by my Lord Rich. So the " truth is, how it shall be, I cannot understand, nor very few " else ;[33] and truly I must tell you privately, they are so far en- " gaged, that the match cannot be broke off! She acquainted " none of her friends with her resolution, when she did it.

" Dear Brother, this is, as far as I can tell, the state of the " business. The Lord direct them what to do. And all, I " think, ought to beg of God to pardon her in her doing of this " thing ;—which I must say truly she was put upon by the " 'course'[34] of things. Dear, let me beg my excuses to my " Sister for not writing. My best respects to her. Pardon this " trouble ; and believe me that I shall ever strive to approve " myself,—dear Brother, your affectionate sister and servant,

" MARY CROMWELL."[35]

Poor little Fanny Cromwell was not yet much turned of Seventeen, when she had these complex things to do, with her friends, 'who truly were very few.' What 'people' they were that put, or strove to put, such notions into his Highness's head, with intent to frustrate the decidedly eligible Mr. Rich, none knows. I could suspect Ashley Cooper, or some such hand, if his date of favour still lasted. But it is gone, long

[33] Good little Mary! [34] Torn out. [35] Thurloe, v. 146.

months ago. Ashley is himself frustrated; cannot obtain this musical glib-tongued Lady Mary, says Ludlow;[36] goes over to opposition in consequence; is dismissed from his Highness's Council of State; and has to climb in this world by another ladder.—Poor Fanny's marriage did nevertheless take effect. Both Mary and she were duly wedded, Fanny to Rich, Mary to Lord Fauconberg, in November next year, within about a week of each other:[37] our friends, 'who truly were very few,' and our destinies, and our own lively wits, brought all right in the end.

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## LETTER CCXIII.

IT was last Spring Assizes, as we saw, that the 'great appearances of country gentlemen and persons of the highest 'quality' took place; leading to the inference generally that this Protectorate Government is found worth acknowledging by England. Certainly a somewhat successful Government hitherto; in spite of difficulties great and many. It carries eternal Gospel in the one hand, temporal drawn Sword in the other. Actually it has compressed the turbulent humours of this Country, and encouraged the better tendencies thereof, hitherto; it has set its foot resolutely on the neck of English Anarchy, and points with its armed hand to noble onward and upward paths. All which, England, thankful at lowest for peace and order, by degrees recognises; with acquiescence, not without some slow

[36] Here is the passage, not hitherto printed; one of several 'Suppressed passages from *Ludlow's Memoirs*,' which still exist in the handwriting of John Locke (now in the possession of Lord Lovelace), having been duly copied out by Locke for his own poor *Life* of the Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom they all relate:

'Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was first for the King, then for the Parliament; 'then, in Cromwell's first Assembly,' the Little Parliament, was 'for the reformation; 'and afterwards for Cromwell against the reformation. Now' again, 'being denied 'Cromwell's Daughter Mary in marriage, he appears against Cromwell's design in 'the last Assembly,' the constitutioning Parliament, where his behaviour was none of the best; 'and is therefore dismissed the Council, Cromwell being resolved to act 'there as the chief juggler himself; and one Colonel Mackworth, a Lawyer about 'Shrewsbury, a person fit for his purpose, is chosen in his room.'—Mackworth was a Soldier as well as Lawyer; the same who, as Governor of Shrewsbury, gave negative response to Charles Second, when he summoned him on the road to Worcester, once upon a time. Mackworth was in the Council, and had even died, and entirely left the Council, before Anthony Ashley left it (*Thurloe*, iii. 581; and *Godwin*, iv. 288). My solid friend, absent in Ireland, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, falls into some errors! Court-rumour, this of his; truth in the heart of it, details rather vague;—not much worth verifying or rectifying here.

[37] Vol. i. p. 60.

satisfactory feeling. England is in peace at home; stands as the Queen of Protestantism abroad; defies Spain and Antichrist, protects poor Piedmont Protestants and servants of Christ;—has taken, all men admit, a nobler attitude than it ever had before.

Nor has the task been easy hitherto; nor is it like to be. No holiday work, governing such an England as this of Oliver Protector's; with strong Papistry abroad, and a Hydra of Anarchies at home! The domestic Hydra is not slain; cannot, by the nature of it, be *slain;* can only be scotched and mowed down, head after head, as it successively protrudes itself;—till, by the aid of Time, it slowly *die*. As yet, on any hint of foreign encouragement it revives again, requires to be scotched and mowed down again. His exiled Majesty Charles Stuart has got a new lever in hand, by means of this War with Spain.

Seven years ago his exiled Majesty's 'Embassy to Spain,' embassy managed by Chancellor Hyde and another, proved rather a hungry affair; and ended, I think, in little,—except the murder of poor Ascham, the then Parliament's Envoy at Madrid; whom, like Dutch Dorislaus, as 'an accursed regicide or abettor of regicides,' certain cut-throat servants of the said hungry Embassy broke-in upon, one afternoon, and slew. For which violent deed no full satisfaction could be got from Spain,—the murderers having taken 'sanctuary,' as was pleaded.[38] With that rather sorry result, and no other noticeable, Chancellor Hyde's Embassy took itself away again; Spain ordering it to go. But now, this fierce Protestant Protector breathing nothing but war, Spain finds that the English domestic Hydra, if well operated upon by Charles Stuart, might be a useful thing; and grants Charles Stuart some encouragements for that. His poor Majesty is coming to the seashore again; is to have 'Seven-thousand Spaniards' to invade England,—if the domestic Hydra will stir with effect. The domestic Hydra, I think, had better lie quiet for a while! This Letter to Henry Cromwell is to bid him too, for his part, be awake in Ireland to these things.

For the Hydra is not dead; and its heads are legion. Major Wildman, for example, sits safe in Chepstow: but Sexby, the

[38] Clarendon, iii. 498-509; Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Ascham (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi. 236-47).

Anabaptist Colonel, whom we could not take on that occasion, is still busy; has been 'trying to seduce the Fleet,' trying to do this and that; is now fairly gone to Spain, to treat with Antichrist himself for the purpose of bringing-in a Reign of Christ,—the truly desperate Anabaptist Colonel![39] It is a Hydra like few. Spiritual and Practical: Muggletonians, mad Quakers riding into Bristol, Fifth-Monarchists, Hungry Flunkies: ever scheming, plotting with or without hope, to 'seduce the Protector's Guard,' 'to blow-up the Protector in his bedroom,' and do "other little fiddling things," as the Protector calls them,—which one cannot waste time in specifying! Only the slow course of nature can kill that Hydra: till a Colonel Sexby *die*, how can you keep him quiet?—

But what doubtless gives new vitality to plotting, in these weeks, is the fact that a General Election to Parliament is going on. There is to be a new Parliament;—in which may lie who knows what contentions. The Protector lost it last time, by the arithmetical account of heads; will he gain it this time? Account of heads is not exactly the Protector's basis; but he hopes he may now gain it even so. At all events, this wide foreign and domestic Spanish War cannot be carried on without supplies; he will first try it so,—then otherwise if not so.

'*To Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.*'

SON HARRY, 'Whitehall,' 26th August 1656.

We are informed, from several hands, that the old Enemy are forming designs to invade Ireland, as well as other parts of the Commonwealth; and that he and Spain have very great correspondence with some chief men in that Nation, for raising a sudden rebellion there.

Therefore we judge it very necessary that you take all possible care to put the Forces into such a condition as may answer anything that may fall-out in this kind. And to that end, that you contract the Garrisons in Ireland, as many as may be; and get a considerable marching Army into the

[39] Clarendon, iii. 852; Thurloe, iv. 698, &c.

field, in two or three bodies, to be left in the most proper and advantageous places for service, as occasion shall require. Taking also, in all other things, your best care you can to break and prevent the designs and combinations of the Enemy;—and a very particular regard is to be had to the North, where, without question, busy and discontented persons are working towards new disturbances. I do not doubt but you will communicate this thing to Colonel Cowper, to the end he may be more watchful and diligent in looking to this danger. I rest, your loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

'Colonel Cowper' commands the Forces in Ulster. Plenty of details about him in Thurloe's Fourth Volume :—our readers can sufficiently conceive him without details. We are more interested to state, from a Letter of Thurloe's which goes along with this, that there are 'Fourteen Spanish ships plying about the Isle of Islay,' doubtless with an eye to Carrickfergus; that we hope, and indeed believe, my Lord Henry will be on the alert. For the rest, the Elections are going well; all 'for peace and settlement,' as we hear, 'and great friends to the Government.' Ashley Cooper, indeed, has been chosen for Wilts: but, on the other hand, Bradshaw has missed in Cheshire; Sir Henry Vane has tried in three places and missed in all.[40] This is of date 26th August 1656; poor England universally sifting itself; trying what the arithmetical account of heads will do for it, once more.

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## LETTER CCXIV.

THE Portugal has done justice; reluctantly aware at last that jesuitries would not serve him.[41] The Spaniards, again, cower close within their harbours; patient of every insult; no ship will venture out, and no Plate Fleet will come in: and as for 'attempting Cadiz or Gibraltar,' the Sea-Generals, after

* Sloane MSS. 4157, f. 209; and (with insignificant variations) Thurloe, v. 348.

[40] Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, date 26th Aug. (v. 349).

[41] Meadows to Blake and Montague, 13th May 1656: Thurloe, v. 14;—see ib. 69, 116, and 118 (the Portugal's Letter to Oliver, 24th June 1656).

mature survey, decide that without other force it cannot prudently be done. This is what Montague, with his clear eyes, has had to report to Secretary Thurloe on the latter enterprise: "I perceive much desire that Gibraltar should be taken. My "thoughts as to that are, in short, these: That the likeliest "way to get it is, By landing on the sand, and quickly cutting "it off between sea and sea, or so securing our men there as "that they may hinder the intercourse of the Town with the "Main; frigates lying near, too, to assist them: — and it is "well known that Spain never victualleth any place for one "month. This will want Four or Five thousand men, well "formed and officered.—This is my own only thought which "I submit, at present."[42]

Whereupon the Lord Protector sends the following Orders; one other Sea Letter of his which we happen to have left. Mainly of Thurloe's composition, I perceive; but worth preserving on various accounts.

*To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.*

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 28th August 1656.

We have received your Letters of the 19th of June brought to us by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here the 11th of July.

By those Letters, and by what Captain Lloyd related by word of mouth,—which is not contradicted by yours of the 1st and 3d of July, 'since' received by the Squadron of Ten Ships (which are all safely arrived in the Channel), nor by any other intelligence received by other hands,—we find That the Spaniard keeps 'within' his Ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable Fleet to come to Sea; and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their Harbours. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's Letter

[42] Montague to Thurloe, in cipher, 20th April to 29th May 1656 (*Thurloe*, v. 67-70), 'received by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here 11th July,'—and has brought other Letters, joint Letters from the Generals, of somewhat later date, as we shall perceive.

to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good Body of Landsmen.—So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done, in those seas for the present, which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there. Besides that the Great Ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the winter-time, upon that coast.

Upon these grounds we are of opinion, with you, That a good Squadron of Frigates will, in this season, be sufficient to answer any opportunity of service which may present itself. And therefore we have resolved That about the number of Twenty Ships, such as you shall judge proper and fit for that purpose, be kept in those seas; and the rest be sent home, with the first opportunity of wind and weather:—and desire that you will give order therein accordingly. And in respect it will be necessary that we advise with one of you at least, upon this whole affair; and it being also very inconvenient that you should be *both* from the head of the Fleet which remains behind, the management thereof being of so great concernment to the Commonwealth,—we would have General Blake to stay with the Fleet, and General Montague to come with the Squadron which comes home.

For the service which these Ships 'that stay' should be applied to,—we need say nothing therein; but refer you to the former Instructions. That which we believe the Enemy will most intend will be the carrying-on his Trade to the West Indies; which if he can effectually do, he will not much care for what else is done upon him. And our intelligence is, That at this time he is fitting-out some Ships of war, and others, to send from Cadiz into those parts;—the certainty whereof we suppose you may know. And therefore that which is most to be endeavoured is, The spoiling him in that Trade, by intercepting his Fleets either

going to or coming from those parts,[43]—and as much as may be To destroy his correspondencies thither. It will be of great use also to prevent the coming of any Materials for Shipping, or other contraband goods into Cadiz or any of his Ports: which you can have an eye to; and, as much as may be, prejudice his correspondency with Flanders.

Besides these things, and what other damage you may have an opportunity to do the Enemy, we, in our keeping the said Fleet in those Seas, had an eye to the Preservation of the Trade of this Commonwealth in the Straits and to Portugal:[44] which we suppose could not be driven on without a very good countenance and strength,—in respect the Enemy would otherwise be able with a few ships to obstruct this Trade wholly, and to take all that passed either to or from the one place or the other. But our intention is not To reckon up every particular wherein this Fleet may be useful, but only To let you know our general scope; and to leave the management and improvement thereof to the prudence and direction of him who is to abide upon the place. Whom we beseech the Lord to be present with; and to guide him to that which may be for the good of this Commonwealth, and according to His own will.

These have been our thoughts, and the considerations we have had upon this Affair. If anything else doth occur to you different from what is here expressed, either as to the number of Ships to remain in those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the Enemy and managing the War against him,—we desire to understand your sense and advice hereupon, with all possible speed; sooner, if it may be, than the return of the aforesaid Squadron. And in the mean time we are not willing to tie you up positively to the

[43] 'thence' in orig.

[44] Here, I think, at the beginning of this Paragraph, the Protector himself has more decidedly struck in.

number of Twenty Ships to remain on that Coast; but give you a latitude to keep a lesser or greater number there, for answering the ends aforesaid, and 'so' as you shall find the occasion to require, which possibly may be very much varied since the last we had from you.—For what concerns the Provisions of victuals and other things which the Fleet will stand in need of, the Commissioners of the Admiralty have direction to write at large to you. Unto whose Letters we refer you;—and desire you and the whole Fleet to rest assured that nothing shall be omitted to be done, here, for your supply and encouragement upon all occasions. Your loving friend, 'OLIVER P.'*

About a fortnight ago, August 13th, learned Bulstrode went with the Swedish Ambassador to dine with a famed Sea-General, Sir George Ayscough, of whom we have occasionally heard; who lives for the present, retired from service, 'at his House in Surrey:' House not known to me; which by the aid of 'ponds, moats,' and hydraulic contrivances, he has made to 'stand environed in water like a ship at sea,'—very charming indeed; and says he has 'cast anchor' here. Our entertainment was superb. The brilliant Swedish Ambassador and Sir George spake much about frigates, their rates of sailing, their capabilities of fighting, and other technical topics; which a learned mind might, without much tedium, listen to. 'After 'dinner, the Ambassador came round by Hampton Court, to 'take his leave of the Lady Claypole and her Sisters;'[45]—which latter small fact, in the ancient Autumn afternoon, one rather loves to remember! As for this Swedish Ambassador, he is just about quitting England, the high-tempered, clear-glancing man; having settled 'copperas,' 'contrabanda,' and many other things, to mutual satisfaction;—nay it is surmised he has thoughts of inviting Ayscough into Sweden to teach them seamanship there; which, however, shall not concern us on this occasion.[46]

* Thurloe, v. 363. 'Sent to Plymouth, To be sent to the Generals by Captain Hatsell.'

[45] Whitlocke, pp 638-9.

[46] *Biog. Britan.* ? Ayscough.

## SPEECH V.

But the new Parliament is now about assembling; wherein we shall see what conclusions will be tried! A momentous question for his Highness and the Council of State; who have been, with interest enough, perusing and pondering the List of Names returned. On the whole, a hopeful Parliament, as Thurloe had expected: Official persons, these and others known as friends to this Government, are copiously elected: the great body of the Parliament seems to consist of men well-affected to his Highness, and even loyal to him; who, witnessing the course he follows, wish him heartily God-speed thereon. Certain others there are, and in considerable number, of stiff Republican ways, or given to turbulence in general,—a Haselrig, a Thomas Scott, an Ashley Cooper: these, as a mass of leaven which might leaven the whole lump, and produce one knows not what in the way of fermentation, are clearly very dangerous. But for these also his Highness and the Council of State, in the present anomalous condition of the Nation, have silently provided an expedient. Which we hope may be of service. On the whole, we trust this Parliament may prove a better than the last.

At all events, on Wednesday 17th September 1656, Parliament, Protector, all in due state, do assemble at the Abbey Church; and, with reverence and credence, hear Doctor Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, very pertinently preach to them from these old words of Isaiah,—old and yet always new and true: *What shall one then answer to the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of His People shall trust in it.*[1] After which, all having removed, still in due state, to the Painted Chamber, and there adjusted themselves, the Protector, rising in his elevated place and taking off his hat, now speaks. The Speech, reported by one knows not whom, lies in old Manuscript in the British Museum; and printed in late years in the Book called *Burton's Diary;* here and there in a very dreary, besmeared, unintelligible condition; from which, as heretofore, a pious Editor strives to rescue it. Sufficiently studied, it becomes intelligible, nay luminous. Let the reader too read with piety, with a real endeavour to understand.

[1] Isaiah, xiv. 32.

GENTLEMEN,

When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself; because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought I had very many things to say unto you, 'and was somewhat burdened and straitened thereby.' But truly now, seeing *you* in such a condition as you are,[2] I think I must turn off 'my pity' in this, as I hope I shall in everything else;—and consider *you* as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are now in.——'So far as pos-'sible, on this large subject, let us be brief; not studying 'the Art of Rhetoricians.' Rhetoricians, whom I do not pretend to 'much concern with;' neither with them, nor with what they use to deal in: Words!

Truly *our* business is to speak Things! The Dispensations of God that are upon us do require it; and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory of God, and with reference to His Interest in the world. I mean His peculiar, His most peculiar Interest, 'His Church, the Communion of the faithful Followers of Christ;'—and that will not leave any of us to exclude His general Interest, which is the concernment of the Living People, 'not as Christians but as human creatures,' within these three Nations, and all the Dependencies thereupon. I have told you I should speak to *things;* things that concern these Interests: The Glory of God, and His Peculiar Interest in the world,—which 'latter' is more extensive, I say more extensive, than the People of all these three Nations with the appurtenances, or the countries and places, belonging unto them.[3]

[2] Place crowded, weather hot.

[3] 'more extensive:' *more important* would have better suited what went before; yet 'extensive' is in all likelihood the word, for his Highness is here branching out into a second idea, which he goes on to blend with the primary one, of 'the concernment of the general mass of the People.'

The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to is *That* that is the first lesson of Nature: Being and Preservation. [*Begin at the basis: How are we to get continued at all as a Nation, not trampled under foot by Invaders, Anarchies, and reduced to wreck?*] As to that of Being, I do think I do not ill style it the *first* consideration which Nature teacheth the Sons of Adam:—and then I think we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that of Well-being. But if Being itself be not first well laid, I think the other will hardly follow!

Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of these Nations with all their Dependencies: The conservation of that, 'namely of our National Being,' is first to be viewed with respect to those who seek to undo it, and so make it *not to be;* and then very naturally we shall come to the consideration of what will make it *be,* of what will *keep* its being and subsistence. [*His Highness's heads of method.*]

'Now' that which plainly seeks the destruction of the Being of these Nations is, out of doubt: The endeavour and design of all the common Enemies of them. I think, truly, it will not be hard to find out who those Enemies are; nor what hath made them so! I think, They are all the wicked men in the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the Enemies to the very Being of these Nations;—and this upon a common account, from the very enmity that is in them 'to all such things.' Whatsoever could serve the glory of God and the interest of His People,—which they see to be more eminently, yea more eminently patronised and professed in this Nation (we will not speak it with vanity) than in all the Nations in the world: *this* is the common ground of the common enmity entertained against the prosperity of our Nation, against the very Being of it.—But we will not, I think, take up our time, contemplating who

these Enemies are, and what they are, in the general notion: we will labour to *specificate* our Enemies; to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically are that seek the very destruction and[4] Being of these Three Nations.

And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but to the end I might very particularly communicate with you 'about that same matter.' For which 'above others,' I think, you are called hither at this time:—That I might particularly communicate with you about the many dangers these Nations stand in, from Enemies abroad and at home; and advise with you about the remedies, and means to obviate these dangers. 'Dangers' which,—say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no,—strike at the very Being and 'vital' interest of these Nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect: in respect 'namely' of the Enemies you are engaged with; and how you come to be engaged with those Enemies, and how they come to be, *as* heartily, I believe, engaged against you. [*His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; creaky, uncertain, difficult! He will gather strength by going. Wait till the axles get warm a little!*]

Why, truly, your great Enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so throughout,—by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God. 'Whatsoever is of God' which is in *you*, or which may be in you; contrary to that which *his* blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, actuate[5] him unto!—With this King and State, I say, you are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You

[4] 'of the' would be more grammatical; but much less Oliverian.
[5] 'acts' in orig., now as always.

will give us leave to tell you how. [*By sending out your Hispaniola Fleet, Christmas gone a year,—which has issued rather sorrily, your Highness!*] For we are ready to excuse 'this and' most of our actions,—and to justify them too, as well as to excuse them,—upon the ground of Necessity. 'And' the ground of Necessity, for justifying of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted Law; and if this or any other State should go about,—as I know they never will,—to make Laws against Events, against what *may* happen, 'then' I think it is obvious to any man, they will be making Laws against Providence; events, and issues of things, being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

The Spaniard is your enemy; and your enemy, as I tell you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in him,—'and also' providentially,[6] and this in divers respects. You could not get an honest or honourable Peace from him: it was sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained. It could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that, 'I do but say,' He is naturally throughout *an enemy;* an enmity is put into him by God. "I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed;"[7]—which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things! [*Yea, your Highness; it is!—Listen to what his Highness himself says of his reasons for going to war with Spain. "Statesmen" too, if they can separate therein what is transitory from what is perennial and eternal, may find it still very worthy of attention. He who has in him, who manifests in the ways of him, an "enmity to God," and goes about patronising unveracities, rotten delusions, brazen falsities, pestilent injustices,—with him, whatever his seeming extent of money-capital and worldly prosperity may be, I would advise*

6 Means, not 'luckily' as now, but simply 'by special ordering of Providence.'
7 Genesis, iii. 15.

*no nation nor statesman nor man to be prompt in clapping-up an alliance. He will not come to good, I think; not he, for one. Bad security in his firm; have no trade with him. With him your only fit trade is, Duel to the death, when the time comes for that!*] And he that considers not such natural enmity, the *providential* enmity, as well as the *accidental*, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so; God having in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when we made a breach with the Spanish Nation 'long ago.'

No sooner did this Nation form what is called (unworthily) the Reformed Religion [*It was not half reformed!*] after the death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous memory,—we need not be ashamed to call her so! [*No, your Highness; the royal court-phrase expresses in this case an exact truth. She was, and is, "of famous memory"*]—but the Spaniard's design became, By all unworthy, unnatural means, to destroy that Person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these Kingdoms. For me to instance in particulars upon that account, were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time: there is a Declaration extant [*The Council's "Declaration," in October last*], which very fully hath in it the origin of the Spaniard venting himself upon this Nation; and a series of it[8] from those very beginnings to this present day. But his enmity was partly upon that general account which all are agreed 'about.' The French, all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed, That his design was the empire of the whole Christian World, if not more;—and upon *that* ground he looks, 'and hath looked,' at this Nation as his greatest obstacle. And as to what his attempts have been for that end,—I refer you to that Declaration, and to the observations of men who read History.

[8] Of 'his ventings,' namely.

It would not be difficult to call to mind the several Assassinations designed upon that Lady, that great Queen: the attempts upon Ireland, the Spaniards' invading of it; their designs of the same nature upon *this* Nation,—public designs, private designs, all manner of designs, to accomplish this great and general end. Truly King James made a Peace; but whether this Nation, and the interest of all Protestant Christians, suffered not more by that Peace, than ever by Spain's hostility, I refer to your consideration!

Thus a State which you can neither have peace with nor reason from,—that is the State with which you have enmity at this time, and against which you are engaged. And give me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth, and most men know it, That the Long Parliament did endeavour, but could not obtain satisfaction 'from the Spaniard' all the time they sat: for their Messenger [*Poor Ascham!*] was murdered: and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies [*Yes, at Tortuga, at St. Kitt's; in many a place and time!*], and for the wrongs done elsewhere; when they asked liberty of conscience for your people who traded thither,—satisfaction in none of these things would be given, but was denied. I say, they denied satisfaction either for your Messenger that was murdered, or for the blood that was shed, or the damages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all; nor any reason offered *why* there should not be liberty 'of conscience' given to your people that traded thither. Whose trade was very considerable there, and drew many of your people thither; and begot an apprehension in *us* 'as to their treatment there,'—whether in *you* or no, let God judge between you and Himself. I judge not: but all of us know that the people who went thither to manage the trade there, were imprisoned. We desired 'but' such a liberty as 'that' they might keep their Bibles

in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, and not be under restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had 'from the Spaniard;' neither is there satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood. When these two things were desired, the Ambassador told us, "It was to ask his Master's two eyes;"[9] to ask both his eyes, asking these things of him!—

Now if this be so, why truly then here is some little foundation laid to justify the War that has been entered-upon[10] with the Spaniard! And not only so: but the plain truth of it is, Make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and 'of' the Pope himself,—you are bound, and they are loose. It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the man is murdered [*Poor Ascham, for example!*], yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally true is it, and hath been found by common and constant experience, That Peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. [*What is to be done with such a set of people?*] —We have not 'now' to do with any Popish State except France: and it is certain that *they* do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation of such a thing as that,—'of breaking your word at the Pope's bidding.' *They* are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them: and there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please upon these grounds,—being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined, 'and made to decide.'

[9] 'these two things:' Exemption to our traders from injury in the West Indies, and Liberty to have Bibles and worship:—See Thurloe (i. 760-1); Bryan Edwards (i. 147-3); &c.

[10] 'that was had' in orig.

In the time when Philip Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through Spanish power and instigation, Twenty-thousand Protestants were murdered in Ireland. We thought, being denied just things,—we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be had otherwise! And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certainly it is, and ought to be, the spirit of men that have *higher* spirits! [*Yes, your Highness: "Men that are Englishmen and more,—Believers in God's Gospel, namely!"—Very clumsily said; but not at all clumsily meant, and the very helplessness of the expression adding something of English and Oliverian character to it.*]—With that State you are engaged. And it is a great and powerful State:—though I may say also, that with all other Christian States you are at peace. All these 'your other' engagements were upon you before this Government was undertaken: War with France, Denmark,—nay, upon the matter, War, 'or as good as War,' with Spain 'itself.' I could instance how it was said 'in the Long-Parliament time,' "We will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home." I say, we are at peace with all other Nations, and have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat 'farther' to you, which will let you see our clearness 'as' to that, by and by.

Having thus 'said, we are' engaged with Spain,—'that is the root of the matter;' that is the party that brings *all* your enemies before you. [*Coming now to the Home Malignants.*] It doth: for so it is now, that Spain hath espoused that Interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with,—Charles Stuart's Interest. And I would but meet the gentleman upon a fair discourse who is willing that that Person should come back again!—but I dare not believe any in this room is. [*Heavens, no; not one of us!*] And I say, it doth not detract at all from your Cause, nor from your ability to make defence of it, That God by His

providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain should espouse that Person. And I say 'farther' [*His Highness's spirit gets somewhat tumultuous here, and blazes up with several ideas at once,—producing results of "some inextricableness," as he himself might phrase it*], No man but might be very well satisfied that it is not for aversion to that Person [*Not for his sake that we have gone to war with Spain:—the Cavaliers talk loudly so, and it is not so*]—! And the "choosing out" (as was said today[11]) "a Captain to lead us *back into Egypt*," 'what honest man has *not* an aversion to that?'—if there *be* such a place? I mean metaphorically and allegorically such a place; 'if there be,' that is to say, A *returning* 'on the part of some' to all those things we have been fighting against, and a destroying of all that good (as we had some hints today) which we have attained unto—?—I am sure my Speech 'and defence of the Spanish War' will signify very little, if such grounds [*Grounds indicated, in this composite "blaze of ideas," which is luminous enough, your Highness; but too simultaneous for being very distinct to strangers!*] go not for good! Nay, I will say this to you, Not a man in England, that is disposed to comply with Papists and Cavaliers, but to him my Speech here is the greatest parable, the absurdest discourse! And in a word, we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all who declare ["*By their cavilling at Spanish Wars and so on:*" *his Highness looks animated!*] that they are of that spirit. I do, with all my heart;—and I would help them with a boat to carry them over, who are of that mind! Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also!——

You are engaged with such an Enemy; a foreign enemy, who hath such allies among ourselves:—this last said hath a little vehemency in it [*His Highness repents him of blazing*

[11] In Owen's Sermon.

*up into unseemly heat*]: but it is well worth your consideration.

Though I seem to be, all this while, upon the justice of the business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers 'and grand crisis' this Nation stands in 'thereby.' All the honest interests; yea, all interests of the Protestants, in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom, are the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's Interest, and prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many who are God's own. Therefore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy abroad; who is the head of the Papal Interest, the head of the Antichristian Interest,—who is so described in Scripture, so forespoken of, and so fully, under that characteral name 'of Antichrist' given him by the Apostle in the *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, and likewise so expressed in the *Revelations;* which are sure and plain things! Except you will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and Antichristian. [*Who would not go to war with it!*] I say, with this Enemy, and upon this account, you have the quarrel,—with the Spaniard.

And truly he hath an interest in your bowels;[12] he hath so. The Papists in England,—they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man among us can hold up his face against that. [*The justifying of the Spanish War is a great point with his Highness!*] They never regarded France; they never regarded any other Papist State where a 'hostile' Interest was, 'but Spain only.' Spain was their patron. Their patron all along, in England, in Ireland and Scotland: no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this 'Spanish' Interest is also,

[12] Old phrase for 'the interior of your own country.'

in regard to your home-affairs, a great source of your danger. It is, and it evidently is; and will be more so,—upon that account that I told you of: He hath espoused Charles Stuart! With whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath raised Seven or Eight Thousand men, and has them now quartered at Bruges; to which number Don John of Austria has promised that, as soon as the campaign is ended, which it is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have Four or Five Thousand added. And the Duke of Neuburg, who is a Popish prince, hath promised good assistance according to his power; and other Popish States the like. In this condition you are with that State 'of Spain;' and in this condition through unavoidable necessity; because your enemy was *naturally* an enemy, and is providentially too become so. [*Always, by the law of his being, as Antichristian to Christian, a* VIRTUAL *enemy; and now Providence, with beneficent wisdom, has developed him into an* ACTUAL *one.*—"*That was his Highness's fundamental reason for rushing at him in the West Indies? Because he was Antichrist?*" *ask some Moderns.*—*Why yes, it might help, my red-tape Friends! I know well, if I could fall-in with Antichrist anywhere, with Supreme Quack and Damnability anywhere, I should be right happy to have a stroke at him if there seemed any chance!*]

And now farther,—as there is a complication of these Interests abroad, so there is a complication of them here. Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? It is unworthy, unchristian, un-Englishlike,[13] 'say you.' Yes; but it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you that you may see, your danger, and the source thereof. Nay it is not only thus, in this condition of hostility, that we stand towards Spain; and towards all the Interest which would make void and frustrate everything that has been doing for you; namely, towards the

[13] To combine with Papists, even for Royalists to do so.

Popish Interest, Papists and Cavaliers;—but it is also ——[*His Highness finds this sentence will not do, and so tries it another way*]—That is to say, your danger is *so great*, if you will be sensible of it, by reason of Persons who pretend *other* things! [*Coming now to the great Miscellany of Anabaptists, Republicans, Levellers; your Allens, Sexbys, Overtons.*] 'Pretend, I say;' yea who, though perhaps they *do* not all suit in their hearts with the said 'Popish' Interest —[*Sentence left ruinous; sense gradually becomes visible*]—Yet every man knows, and must know, that discontented parties are among us somewhere! They must expect backing and support somewhere. They must end in the Interest of the Cavalier at the long-run. That must be their support! —I could have reckoned this in another 'head' [*Half soliloquising, his Highness; giving us a glimpse into the strange seething, simmering inner-man of him*]—But I give you an account of things as they arise to me. Because I desire to clear them to you! Not discoursively, in the oratoric way; but to let you see the matter of fact,—to let you see how the state of your affairs stands. [*Well, your Highness; that certainly is the grand object of speaking to us. To show* ME *what* THOU *seest, what is in* THEE: *why else should one human being dare to wag his tongue to another? It is frightful otherwise. One almost loves this incondite half-articulation of his Highness, in comparison.*]

Certain it is, there was, not long since, an endeavour to make an Insurrection in England. [*Penruddock at Salisbury;—we heard of Wagstaff and him!*] It was going on for some time before it broke out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. 'Nay,' it was so not only from the time of the undertaking of this Government; but the spirit and principle of it did work in the Long-Parliament 'time.' From that time to this, hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you. And this is no strange

or new thing to tell you: Because it is true and certain that the Papists, the Priests and Jesuits have a great influence upon the Cavalier Party; they and the Cavaliers prevail upon the discontented spirits of the Nation,—who are not all so apt to see where the dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tend. Those 'Papists and Cavaliers' do foment all things that tend to *dis*service; to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would instance, in particulars, those that have manifested this,—we could tell you how Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into men's society; pretending the same things that *they* pretended;—whose ends, 'these Jesuits' ends,' have, out of doubt, been what I have told you. [*Dark spectres of Jesuits; knitting-up Charles Stuart, the Spaniard, and all manner of Levellers and discontented persons, into one Anti-christian mass, to overwhelm us therewith!*]

We had that Insurrection. It was intended first to the assassination of my person;—which I would not remember as anything at all considerable to myself or to you [*Very well, your Highness!*]: for they would have had to cut throats beyond human calculation before they could have been able to effect their design. But you know it very well, 'this of the assassination;'—it is no fable. Persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament sat; and tried, and upon proof condemned [*Gerard and Vowel; we remember them!*]—for their designs to cut the throat of myself, and three or four more; whom they had singled out as being, a little beyond ordinary, industrious to preserve the peace of the Nation. And did think to make a very good issue 'in that way,' to the accomplishment of their designs! I say, this was made good upon the Trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it. We did hint these things to the Parliament people by several persons, who acquainted them therewith. But what fame we lay under I

know not! [*Suspicious of us in that Parliament!*] It was conceived, it seems, we had things[14] which rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and bring money out of the people's purses, or I know not what:—in short, nothing was believed [*Very beautifully rebutted, your Highness; without even anger at it; as the Lion walks quietly on through cobwebs. We had "things" which rather intended &c. &c. What most articulate rhetoric could match this half-articulate, —articulate enough for the occasion!*]; though there was a series of things distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members.

The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By the 12th of March after, the people were in arms. But "they were a company of mean fellows,"—alas!—"not a "lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor a this nor "that, among them: but it was a poor headstrong people, "a company of rash fellows who were at the undertaking "of this,"—and that was all! And by such things [*His Highness's face indicates that he means "no-things," "babblements"*] have men 'once well-affected' lost their consciences and honours, complying, 'coming to agreement with Malignants,' upon such notions as these!—Give me leave to tell you, We know it; we are able to prove it. And I refer you to that Declaration[15] which was for guarding against Cavaliers (as I did before to that other 'Declaration' which set down the grounds of our War with Spain), Whether these things were true or no? If men will not believe,—we are satisfied, we do our duty. [*A suspicious people, your Highness: nay not suspicious, so much as incredulous, obstinate, dreadfully thick of skin and sense,—and unused to such phenomena as your Highness!*]—If we let you know things and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to *us:* But to

[14] Means 'we made statements;' very Oliverian expression.

[15] Can be read in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 434 et seqq.

see how men can reason themselves out of their honours and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people — ! — Which, truly I must needs say, some men had compliance with, who I thought never *would* for all the world: I must tell you so.—

These men rise in March. And that it was a general Design, I think all the world must know and acknowledge. For it is as evident as the day, that the King [*We may call him "King"*] sent Sir Joseph Wagstaff and another, the Earl of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we had not by suspicion or imagination; but we know individuals! We are able to make appear, That persons who carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business. And he that gave us our intelligence lost his life for it in Neuburg Country [*Yes, Manning was shot there; he had told us Hyde was cock-sure*];—I think I may now speak of that, because he is dead:—but he did discover, from time to time, a full intelligence of these things. Therefore, How men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter; or, notwithstanding all that hath been done, may still continue their compliances 'with the Malignants;'—I leave it. [*Yes, let* THEM *look to that.*] I think England cannot be safe unless Malignants be carried far away!—

There was never any design on foot but we could hear it out of the Tower. He who commanded there[16] would give us account, That within a fortnight or such a thing[17] there would be some stirrings; for a great concourse of people were coming to them, and they had very great elevations of spirit. [*Vigilant Barkstead!*] And not only there; but in all the Counties of England. We have had informations that they were upon designs all over England (besides

[16] Barkstead, a Goldsmith once, a severe vigilant Colonel now; who has seen much service.

[17] 'time' might be the word; but I am getting to love this 'thing.'

some particular places which came to our particular assurance), by knowledge we had from persons in the several Counties of England.

And if this *be* so, then, as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your War with Spain; with whom all the Papal Interest is joined. This Pope[18] is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his Religion,—wherein perhaps he may shame *us*,—and a man of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy; and his Designs are known to be, all over, nothing but an Endeavour to unite all the Popish Interests in all the Christian world, against this Nation above any, and against all the Protestant Interest in the world.—If this be so, and if you will take a measure of these things; if we must still hold the esteem that we have had 'for Spaniards,' and be ready to shake hands with them and the Cavaliers,—what doth this differ from the Bishop of Canterbury [*Poor old Laud, and his Surplices!*] 'striving' to reconcile matters of religion; if this temper be upon us to unite with these 'Popish' men in Civil Things? Give me leave to say, and speak what I know! If this be men's mind, I tell you plainly,—I hope I need not; but I wish all the Cavaliers in England, and all the Papists, heard me declare it, and many besides yourselves have 'heard me:' There are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance! [*Right so, your Highness; that is the grand cardinal certainty! An irrevocable Act of Legislature passed in one's own heart. In spite of all clamours and jargons, and constitutional debatings in Parliament and out of it, there is a man or two will have himself cut in pieces before that "shaking of hands" take place. In fact, I think Christ and Antichrist had better not try shaking of hands; no good will come of it!—Does not his High-*

[18] One *Chigi* by natural name, called Alexander VII. as Pope; an 'Antijansenist Pope,' say the Books. With whom, beyond the indispensable, let us crave not to be acquainted.

*ness look uncommonly animated?*]—and I am persuaded of the same thing in you!

If this be our condition,—with respect had to this, truly let us go a little farther. For I would lay open the danger wherein I think in my conscience we stand; and if God give not your hearts to see and discern what is obvious, we shall sink, and the house will fall about our ears,—upon even 'what are called' "such sordid attempts" as these same! Truly there are a great many people in this Nation who "would not reckon-up every pitiful thing,"—perhaps like the nibbling of a mouse at one's heel; but only "considerable dangers"! I will tell you plainly 'what to me seems dangerous;' it is not a time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches,—I have none, truly;—but to tell you how we *find* things.[19]

There is a generation of men in this Nation who cry-up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty [*Coming now to the Levellers and "Commonwealth's-men"*]; and these are diversified into several sects, and sorts of men; and though they may be contemptible in respect they are many, and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief,—yet they are apt to agree *in aliquo tertio.* They are known (yea, well enough) to shake hands with,—I should be loath to say with Cavaliers,—but with all the scum and dirt of this Nation [*Not loath to say that, your Highness?*], to put you to trouble. And when I come to speak of the *Remedies*, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in these respects. I speak now of the very time when there was an Insurrection at Salisbury, 'your Wagstaffs and Penruddocks openly in arms' — — [*Sudden prick of anger stings his Highness at the thought of that great Peril, and how it was treated and scouted by the incredulous Thickskinned; and*

[19] Paragraph irretrievably misreported; or undecipherable for want of the tones and looks accompanying it;—in a dim uncertain manner displays the above as a kind of meaning.

*he plunges in this manner*] — — I doubt whether it be believed there ever was any rising in North Wales 'at the same time;' at Shrewsbury; at Rufford Abbey, where were about Five-hundred horse; or at Marston Moor; or in Northumberland, and the other places,—where all these Insurrections were at that very time! [*Truly it is difficult to keep one's temper: sluggish mortals saved from destruction; and won't so much as admit it!*] — — There was a Party which was very proper to come between the Papists and Cavaliers; and that *Levelling* Party hath some accession lately, which goes under a *finer* name or notion! I think they would now be called "Commonwealth's-men;" who perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates [*Lord Grey of Groby; he is in the Tower; he and others*] should join with such a people. But if the *fact* be so, there will need no stretch of wit to make it evident, it being so by demonstration. [*His Highness still harps on the incredulity of a thickskinned public, naturally very provoking to him in these perilous, abstruse and necessarily* SECRET *operations of his.*]

I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty numerous,—and do not despise them! — at the time when the Cavaliers were risen, this very Party had prepared a Declaration against all the things that had been transacted 'by us;' and called them by I know not what 'names,' "tyranny," "oppression," things "against the liberty of the subject;" and cried out for "justice," and "righteousness," and "liberty:"—and what was all this business for, but to join the Cavaliers to carry-on that Design? And these are things,—not words! That Declaration we got; and the Penner of it we got [*Locked him fast in Chepstow; the unruly Wildman!*]: and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and contrived;—which was hatched in the time of the Sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse

anybody: but that was the *time* of it;—an unhappy time! And a plausible Petition had been penned, which must come to me, forsooth [*Through that obtuse Constitutioning Parliament, I fancy!*], "To consider of these things, and to give redress and remedies." And this was so.—

Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great deal of violence then; and we did hunt it out. I will not tell you these are high things [*Call them "low" if you like; mice nibbling at one's heel!*]: but at that time when the Cavaliers were to rise, a Party was to seize upon General Monk in Scotland, and to commit him to Edinburgh Castle, upon this pretence of "liberty:" and when they had seized him, and clapped him by the heels, 'him' and some other true and faithful Officers, they had resolved a number at the same time should march away for London; leaving a party behind them,—to have their throats cut by the Scots! Though I will not say they would have 'purposely' brought it to this pass; yet it cannot be thought but that a considerable 'part of the' Army would have followed them 'hither' at the heels.— — And not only thus: but this same spirit and principle designed some little fiddling things upon some of your Officers, to an assassination;[20] and an Officer was engaged, who was upon the Guard, to seize me in my bed. This was true. And other foolish designs there were,—as, To get into a room, to get gunpowder laid in it, and to blow-up the room where I lay. And this, we can tell you, is *true.* These are Persons not worthy naming; but the things are *true.* And such is the state we have stood in, and had to conflict with, since the last Parliament. And upon this account, and in this combination,[21] it is that I say to you, That the ringleaders to all this are none but your old enemies the Papists and

[20] Means: 'they attempted to persuade some of your Officers to that "little fiddling thing."'

[21] Identity of time and attempt.

Cavaliers. We have some 'of them' in prison for these things.

Now we would be loath to tell you of notions more seraphical! [*His Highness elevating his brows; face assuming a look of irony, of rough banter.*] *These* are poor and low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions! We have had endeavours to deal between two Interests;—one some section of that Commonwealth Interest; and another which was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy Interest! [*A* "NOTION;" *not even worth calling a* "SECTION" *or* "PARTY," —*such moonshine was it!*]—Which 'strange operation' I do not recite, nor what condition it is in, as thinking it not worthy our trouble. But *de facto* it hath been so, That there have been endeavours;—as there were endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there have been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy men and the Commonwealth men that there might be union in order to an end,—no *end* can be so bad as *that* of Herod's was,—but in order to end in blood and confusion! And, that you may know, 'to tell you candidly,' I profess I do not believe of these two last, of Commonwealth men and Fifth-Monarchy men, but that they have stood at a distance, 'aloof from Charles Stuart.' [*The Overtons, the Harrisons, are far above such a thing.*] I think they did not participate. I would be so charitable, I would be, That they did not. But this I will tell you, That as for the others, *they* did not only set these things on work; but they sent a fellow [*Sexby, the miserable outcast!*], a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty,—they sent him to Madrid to advise with the King of Spain to land Forces to invade the Nation. Promising satisfaction that they would comply and concur with him to have both men and moneys; undertaking both to engage

the Fleet to mutiny, and also your Army to gain a garrison 'on the coast;' to raise a party, 'so' that if the Spaniard would say where he would land, they would be ready to assist him!—This person was sometimes[22] a Colonel in the Army. He went with Letters to the Archduke Leopoldus and Don John. That was an "Ambassador;"—and gave promise of much moneys: and hath been soliciting, and did obtain moneys; which he sent hither by Bills of Exchange:—and God, by His Providence, we being exceeding poor, directed that we lighted on some of them and some of the moneys! [*Keep hold of them, your Highness!*] Now if they be payable, let them be called for! [*Won't call, I believe!*]—If the House shall think fit to order any inspection into these things, they may have it.

We think it our duty to tell you of these things; and we can make them good. Here is your danger; that is it! Here is a poor Nation that hath wallowed in its blood;—though, thanks be to God, we have had Peace these four or five years: yet here is the condition we stand in. And I think I should be false to you, if I did not give you this true representation of it.

I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a Thing [*Coming to the Major-Generals*] which, I hear, is much spoken of. When we knew all these Designs before mentioned; when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet — — No quiet; "there is no peace to the wicked," saith the Scripture (*Isaiah*, Fifty-seventh): "They are like "the troubled sea, which cannot rest; whose waters throw "up mire and dirt."[23] They cannot rest,—they have no Peace with God in Jesus Christ to the remission of sins! They do not know what belongs to that [*My brave one!*]; therefore they know not how to be at rest; therefore they can no more cease from their actions than they can cease

[22] Means 'at one time;' as almost all know.

[23] Isaiah, lvii. 20, 21.

to live,—nor so easily neither!— —Truly when that Insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little poor Invention, which I hear has been much regretted. I say, there was a little thing invented; which was, the erecting of your Major-Generals [*Yes!*]: To have a little inspection upon the People thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, 'split' into divers interests,—and the workings of the Popish Party! 'Workings' of the Lord Taaff and others;[24] the most consisting of Natural-Irish rebels, and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and have expulsed from thence, as having had a hand in that bloody Massacre;—of him and of those that were under his power; who were now to have joined in this excellent business of Insurrection!—

And upon such a Rising as that was,—truly I think if ever anything were justifiable as to Necessity, and honest in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook! [*His Highness looks animated.*] We did find,—I mean myself and the Council did,—That, if there were need to have greater forces to carry-on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the charge upon that Party which was the cause of it. [*Yea!*] And if there be any man that hath a face averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the interest of England!—Upon this account, upon this ground of necessity; when we saw what game they were upon; and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank, not a few, engaged in this business (I knew one man that laid down his life for it) ["*Name!*" *He must go unnamed, this one!*]; and had it by intercepted

[24] His Highness suddenly breaks off after new quarry on mention of this Party. The Lord Taaff is even now very busy, at Antwerp (*Thurloe*, v.), with Chancellor Hyde, "throwing up mire and dirt" of the insurrection kind. He was in trouble long ago, at the beginning of the Long Parliament, on the score of the Irish Massacre; sat some time in the Tower (*Clarendon*, ii. 216), with Lord Dillon and others; a generation "who can no more cease from their practices than they can cease to live, nor so easily neither!"

Letters made as clear as the day;—we did think it our duty To make that class of persons who, as evidently as anything in the world, were in the combination 'of the insurrectionists,' bear their share of the charge. 'Bear their share,' one with another, for the raising of the Forces which were so necessary to defend us against those Designs! And truly if any man be angry at it,—I am plain, and shall use an homely expression: *Let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him!*[25] If this were to be done again, I would do it.

How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that work? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known integrity and fidelity; and men who have freely adventured their blood and lives for that good Cause,—if it 'still' be thought such, and it was well stated, 'this morning,' against all the 'new' humours and fancies of men! ——And truly England doth yet receive one day more of Lengthening-out its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs.[26]——

Well; your danger is as you have seen. And truly I am sorry it is so great. But I wish it to cause no despondency;—as truly, I think, it will not: for we are Englishmen; that is one good fact. And if God give a Nation the property of valour and courage, it is honour and a mercy 'from Him.' [*Yes, it is a great thing, your Highness!*] And much more 'than English'! Because you all, I hope, are Christian Men, who know Jesus Christ [*Yea!*], and know that Cause which hath been mentioned to you this day.

Having declared to you my sense and knowledge,—par-

[25] The Proverb is in *Ray;* but without commentary. Various friendly Correspondents, who have found it in Shakspeare (*Much Ado about Nothing*, Act v. Scene 1) and elsewhere, point out to me that the meaning is, 'Let him bring his sword-hilt round, then;' ready for drawing; round to the front, where the 'buckle' of his belt or 'girdle' now is.

[26] 'that occasion' in orig.

don me if I say so, my knowledge,—of the condition of these poor Nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, it concerneth them all very palpably; I should be to blame if I did not a little offer to you the Remedies. [*Second head of method: the Remedies.*] I would comprehend them under two considerations. They are both somewhat general. The one is, The Considering all things that may be done, and ought to be done, in order to Security; that is one. And truly the other is a common head, 'a general, nay a universal consideration,'—the other is, Doing all things that ought to be done in order to Reformation: and with that I will close my Discourse. All that hath hitherto been hinted-at was but to give you a sense of the danger; which 'truly' is most material and significant; for which principally you are called hither to advise of the remedies.—I do put them, 'the remedies,' into this twofold method, not but that I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe, truly, upon serious and deliberate consideration: That a true Reformation, as it may, and will through God's acceptance, and by the endeavours of His poor servants, be,—That that, 'I say,' will be pleasing in His sight; and will prove not only what shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received. So, in my conscience, if I were put to show it, this hour, Where the security of these Nations will lie?—forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength; your being and freedom; be as politic and diligent, and as vigilant as you can be,—I would say in my conscience, and as before Almighty God I speak it: I think your Reformation, if it be honest and thorough and just, *it* will be your best security! [*Hear him; Hear, hear!*]

First, 'however,' with regard to Security 'outwardly considered.' We will speak a little distinctly to that. ["*Be ye wise as serpents withal!*"] You see where your War is. It

is with the Spaniard. You have Peace with all 'other' Nations, or the most of them; Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present, I say, it is well; it is at present so. And so likewise with the Portugal, with France, — the Mediterranean Sea. Both these States; both Christian and Profane; the Mahometan;—you have Peace with them all. Only with Spain you have a difference, you have a War. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would *tie* you to this War? No. 'According' as you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that War,—'according' as we are satisfied, and as the cause shall appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if you *can* come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or don't do it at all!—

Truly I shall speak a very great word,—one may ask a very great question: "*Unde;* Whence shall the means of it come?" Our Nation is overwhelmed in debts! Nevertheless I think it my duty to deal plainly; I shall speak what even Nature teacheth us. If we engage in a business,—a recoiling man may *haply* recover of his enemy: but the wisdom of a man surely will be in the keeping of his ground! Therefore that is what I advise you, That we join together to prosecute it *vigorously*. In the second place, I would advise you to deal effectually,—even *because* there is such a "complication of interests," 'as some keep objecting.' If you believe that there is such a complication of interests,—why, then, in the name of God, that excites you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, I do not believe that in any war that ever was in former times, nor in any engagements that you have had with other 'enemies,' this Nation had more obligation upon it to look to itself,—to forbear waste of time, precious time! Needlessly to mind things that are not essential; to be quibbling about words, and comparatively about things of no moment; and in the

mean time,—being in such a case as I suppose you know we are,—to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence against the common Enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly sensible of the Distempers that are at home[27]—!—I know, perhaps there are many considerations which may teach you, which may incline you, to keep your own hands tender from men of one Religion 'with ourselves,'[28] and of an Interest that is so spread in the Nation. However, if they seek the eradication of the Nation; if they be active as you have seen, and 'as' it hath been made manifest so as not to be denied, to the carrying-on of their Designs; if England must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard; if this must be brought upon us through distempers and falseness of men among themselves,—then the question is no more than this: Whether any consideration whatsoever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating distempers, to suffer all the honest Interests of this Nation to be eradicated? Therefore, speaking generally of any of their distempers, 'which are' of all sorts,—where a member cannot be cured, the rule is plain, *Ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus.* And I think it is of such an advantage that nothing ever could more properly be put in practice[29] since this or any Nation 'first' was.

As to those lesser Distempers of people that pretend Religion, yet which from the whole consideration of Religion, would fall under one of the heads of Reformation,—I had rather put these under this head;[30] and I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken-to already today 'elsewhere.' I will tell you the truth: Our

[27] Original sentence incomplete; or tacked with radical incoherency to the foregoing: the sense, on either hypothesis, is very visible.

[28] Royalists, and other Discontented; Protestants, though Plotters.

[29] 'used' in orig.

[30] Of 'doing all we can for Security;' they will stand better under *this*, thinks his Highness. His Highness half-soliloquising, suddenly bethinking himself, again shows us a glimpse of his Speech in a state of genesis.

practice since the last Parliament hath been, To let all this Nation see, that whatever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves;—and *not* to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, 'and not peaceable,' let the pretence be never so specious,—if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, *whom* we meet withal, though never so specious, 'if they be not quiet'! And truly I am against all "liberty of conscience" repugnant to *this*. If men will profess,—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment,—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! For, as it was said today, undoubtedly "*this* is the peculiar Interest all this while contended for." [*An excellent "Interest;" very indispensable in a state of genuine Protestantism, which latter has itself for some time been indispensable enough.*]

Men who believe in Jesus Christ—that is the Form that gives being to true religion, 'namely,' to Faith in Christ and walking in a profession answerable to that Faith;—men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God: those men who are certain they are so [*Faith of assurance*],—'they' are members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever hath this Faith, let his Form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other Forms:—it is a debt due to God and Christ; and He will require it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. [*True Tolerance; a noble thing: Patience, indifference as to the Unessential; live-*

*liest impatience, inexorable* INTOLERANCE *for the Want of the Essential!*]

If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him 'who is' under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him,—I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist 'judgment' shall be censuring the Godly Ministers of the Nation who profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them,—as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ,—so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things *equal*. Which, truly I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes 'on the ear,' and rebukes, —on the one hand and on the other; some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an inletter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach: but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experimentally): I have found it, I have, that those of the Presbyterian judgment—["*Do themselves partly approve my plan*," *he means to say; but starting off into broken sentences, as he is liable to do, never says it*]——I speak it knowingly, as having received from very many Counties—I have had Petitions, and acknowledgments and professions, from whole Counties; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other Counties. Acknowledgments that they, 'the Presbyterians there,' do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments; for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring to attain more purity of

faith and repentance;—and that, in their outward profession, they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those Petitions; I have them to show. And I confess I look at that as the blessedest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, 'or' which these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to *be* the Civil Magistrate's real endeavour to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another; not suffering any to say or do what will justly provoke the others;—I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any.

This therefore I think verily, if it may be under consideration for Reformation:—I say, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep *this* straight, 'it may be a great means' in giving countenance to just Ministers,—[*In such semi-articulate uneasy way does his Highness hustle himself over into the discussion of a new Topic*]—in countenancing a just *maintenance* to them, by Tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away Tithes, till I see the Legislative Power settle Maintenance to Ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy Tithes,—it doth as surely cut their 'the Ministers' throats as it is a drift to take Tithes away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England; I have had it professed: That it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have maintenance another way,—if the State will provide it. [*Sensation among the Voluntaries!— —His Highness proceeds no farther in that direction at present. The next sentence suddenly drawing itself up into a heap; comprising both ideas,* "TITHES" *and* "EQUALITY," *and in free-flowing half-articulate*

*manner uttering them both at once, must be given precisely as it stands,—Grammar yielding place to something still needfulier, to* TRANSPARENCY *of Speech with or without grammar.*]—— Therefore I think, for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms in this liberty, —I think as it, 'this of tithes, or some other maintenance,' hath been a thing that is the root of visible Profession [*No public maintenance, no regular priest*], the upholding of this —I think you will find a blessing in it:—if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance, which is so honest and so necessary. [*Better keep-up Tithes, till we see!*]

Truly, there might be some other things offered to you, in point of Reformation: a Reformation of Manners, to wit ——But I had forgot one thing which I must remember! It is the Church's work, you know, in some measure: yet give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences, Whether or no there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of Scandalous Ministers, and for the bringing-in of them that have passed an Approbation? [*Our two Commissions of Triers and Expurgators.*] I dare say, such an Approbation as never passed in England before! And give me leave to say, It hath been with this difference 'from the old practice,' that neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that made these Approbations;—though, I can say too, they have a great esteem for Learning; and look at Grace as most useful when it falls unto men *with* rather than without 'that addition;' and wish, with all their hearts, the flourishing of all those Institutions of Learning, as much as any. I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the Ministers, towards them that have been Approved. I may say, such an one, as I truly believe was never known in England, 'in regard to this matter.' And

I do verily believe that God hath, for the Ministry, a very great seed in the youth 'now' in the Universities; who instead of studying Books, study their own hearts. I do believe, as God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose; so this Ministry of England—I think in my very conscience that God will bless and favour it; and hath blessed it, to the gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon the thriving hand since England was, as at this day. Therefore I say, in these things, 'in these arrangements made by us,' which tend to the profession of the Gospel and Public Ministry, 'I think' you will be so far from hindering, that you will further them. And I shall be willing to join with you.

I did hint to you my thoughts about the Reformation of Manners. And those abuses that are in this Nation through disorder, are a thing which should be much in your hearts. It is that which, I am confident, is a description and character of the Interest you have been engaged against, 'the Cavalier Interest:' the badge and character of countenancing Profaneness, Disorder and Wickedness in all places,—[*A horrible "character," your Highness; not undeserved hitherto: and under* OUR *new Defender of the Faith* (*if you could see into futurity*) *what a height of evidence will it rise to!*]—and whatever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with what is Popery, and 'with' the profane Nobility and Gentry of this Nation! In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, in this Nation! Whether "in Cæsar's house," or elsewhere! It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of "Puritan" was put upon it.—We would keep up [*He bethinks him of the above word "profane"*] Nobility and Gentry:—and the way to keep them up is, Not to suffer them to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders! And you will hereby be as labourers in that work 'of keeping

them up.' And a man may tell as plainly as can be what becomes of us, if we grow indifferent and lukewarm 'in repressing evil,' under I know not what weak pretensions. [*Yes, your Highness; even so,—were you and I in a minority of Two upon it! "Merry Monarchs" of the Nell-Gwynn Defender kind, and the gallantest Sir Charles Sedleys in their tavern-balcony in Bow Street, are and remain a most mournful phenomenon to me; mournfuler than Death;—equal to Death with a Grimaldi-mask clapt on it!*] If it lives in us, therefore; I say, if it be in the general 'heart of the Nation,' it is a thing I am confident our liberty and prosperity depend upon,—Reformation. Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the Nation; and by this, will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits,—which *are* the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief. [*A real "Head of the Church," this "King;" not an imaginary one!*]

There are some things which respect the Estates of men; and there is one general Grievance in the Nation. It is the Law. ["*Hear, hear!" from all quarters of the Nation.*] Not that the Laws are a grievance; but there are Laws that are; and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in this land as have been had, as the Nation has had, for these many years. [*Hale and others; yea!*]—Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part 'of it,' as to the administration 'of the Law;' but that would trouble you. The truth of it is, There are wicked and abominable Laws, which 'it' will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for Six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and

acquit murder,—is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see men lose their lives for petty matters: this is a thing God will reckon for. [*Your Highness actually says so, believes so?*] And I wish it may not lie upon this Nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

I have little more to say to you, being very weary; and I know you are so 'too.' Truly I did begin with what I thought was 'the means' to carry on this War (if you will carry it on), That we might join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer to an objection: "But what will you prosecute it with?" The State is hugely in debt; I believe it comes to —— [*Reporter cannot hear; on his Paper is mere Blank;—nay I think his Highness stutters, does not clearly articulate any sum.*]—The Treasure of the State is run out. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection; but desire it,—that you should inspect the Treasury, and how moneys have been expended. And we are not afraid to look the Nation in the face upon this score. And therefore we will say negatively, *first*, No man can say we have misemployed the Treasures of this Nation, and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

It may be we have not been,—as the world terms it,—so fortunate in all our successes, 'in the issues of all our attempts'? [*Hispaniola was a terrible affair, your Highness; and Jamaica is yet—a load to crush any but a Man of Hope!*] Truly if we are of mind that God may not decide for us in these things, I think we shall be quarrelling with what God 'Himself' will answer 'for.' And we hope we are able, —it may be weakly, I doubt not,—to give an answer to

God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God, of the reason of things. But we shall tell you, it—[" *It*," *the principal* " *reason*" *we could give, was the Plotting of the Cavaliers; whereat his Highness bursts into sudden spontaneous combustion again!*] — was part of that Arch-Fire, which hath been in this your time; wherein there were flames good store, fire enough;—and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to *quench* them both here and elsewhere! I say it again, our endeavours—by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals; I can repeat it with comfort,—they have been effectual for the Preservation of your Peace! [*What worlds of old terror, rage and endeavour, all dead now; what continents of extinct fire, of life-volcanoes once blazing, now sunk in eternal darkness, do we discern, with emotion, through this chance crevice in his Highness!*] It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of Vice and settling Religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide by it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men! [*Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!*] But I say there was a Design—I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency—But you had not peace two months together, 'nothing but plot after plot;' I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world: and how instrumental *they*, 'these Major-Generals,' have been to your peace and for your preservation, by such means,—which, we say, was Necessity! More 'instrumental' than all instituted things in the world!——If you would make laws against whatever things God may please to send, 'laws' to meet everything that may *happen*,—you make a law in the face of God; you tell God you will meet all His dispensations, and will stay things whether He will or no![31] But if you make

[31] 'Laws against events,' insisted on before, p. 181. The 'event' there could be no law against beforehand, was the universal rising of the cutthroat Cavaliers; a

good laws of Government, that men may know how to obey and to act for Government, they may be laws that have frailty and weakness; ay, and 'yet' good laws to be observed. But if nothing should 'ever' be done but what is "according to Law," the throat of the Nation may be cut while we send for some to make a Law! [*The Tyrant's plea?—Yes, and the true Governor's, my friend; for extremes meet.*] Therefore certainly it is a pitiful beastly notion to think, though it be for ordinary Government to live by law and rule, yet[32]—'if a Government in extraordinary circumstances go beyond the law even for self-preservation, it is' to be clamoured-at, and blottered-at. [*His Highness still extremely animated; wants as if more tongues than one to speak all he feels!*] When matters of Necessity come, then without guilt extraordinary remedies may not be applied? Who can be so pitiful a person!—

I confess, if Necessity be *pretended*, there is so much the more sin. A laying the irregularity of men's actions upon God as if He had sent a Necessity;—who doth indeed send Necessities! But to *anticipate* these—For as to an appeal to God, I own it, 'own this Necessity,' conscientiously to God; and the principles of Nature dictate the thing:—But if there be a *supposition*, I say, of a Necessity which is *not*, every *act* so done hath in it the more sin. This 'whether in a given case, there *is* a Necessity or not,' perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise: But I must say I do not know one action 'of this Government,' no not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the Nation. And the keeping of some in prison [*Lilburn, Wildman, Overton, Grey of Groby, Willoughby of Parham, occasionally Harrison and others: a fair stock of Prisoners up and down!*]

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thing not believed-in by the thickskinned, but too well known to his Highness as a terrible verity,—which the thickest skin would have got acquainted with, moreover, had it not been for him! Evidently a most provoking topic.

[32] A small hiatus in the MS. (Burton, p. clxxii.), which imagination can easily fill.

hath been upon such clear and just grounds that no man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, in Cornwall and elsewhere; and the cause of their imprisonment was, They were all found acting things which tended to the disturbance of the Peace of the Nation. Now these principles made us say to them: "Pray live quietly in your own countries: you shall not be "urged with bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the "Government." But they would not so much as say, "We "will promise to live peaceably." If others are imprisoned, it is because they have done such things. And if other particulars strike,[33] we know what to say,—as having endeavoured to walk as those that would not only give an account to God of their actings in Authority, but had 'withal' to give an account of them to men. [*Anticlimax;—better than some climaxes; full of simplicity and discretion.*]

I confess I have digressed much. [*Yes, your Highness; it has been a very loose-flowing Discourse;—like a big tide on shallow shores, with few banks or barriers!*]—I would not have you be discouraged if you think the State is exceeding poor. Give me leave to tell you, we have managed the Treasury not unthriftily, nor to private uses; but for the use of the Nation and Government;—and shall give you this short account. When the Long Parliament sat,[34] this Nation owed 700,000*l.* We examined it; it was brought unto that,—in that short Meeting 'of the Little Parliament,' within half a year after the Government came into our hands. I believe there was *more* rather than less. They 'the Long-Parliament people,' had 120,000*l.* a-month; they had the King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops' Lands; all Delinquents' Estates, and the Dean-and-Chapter Lands;—which was a very rich Treasure. As soon as ever we came

[33] Means 'give offence.'

[34] Polite for 'ceased to sit.'

to the Government, we abated 30,000*l.* the first half-year, and 60,000*l.* after. We had no benefits of those Estates, at all considerable [*Only the merest fractions of them remaining now unsold*]; I do not think, the fiftieth part of what they had:—and give me leave to tell you, *You are not so much in debt as we found you.*[35] We know it hath been maliciously dispersed, as if we had set the Nation into 2,500,000*l.* of debt: but I tell you, you are not so much in debt, by some thousands,—I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands! This is true that I tell you. We have honestly,—it may be not so wisely as some others would have done,—but with honest and plain hearts, laboured and endeavoured the disposal of Treasure to Public Uses; and laboured to pull off the common charge 60,000*l.* a-month, as you see. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the Nation, perhaps we could have had as much money 'in hand,' as now we are in debt.—These things being thus, I did think it my duty to give you this account,—though it be wearisome even to yourselves and to me.

Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so certainly Inspired as the holy Men of God have been, I could rejoice, for your sakes, and for these Nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of His Cause which we have all been engaged in, if I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this Nation! If *not*,—you plunge it, to all human appearance, 'it' and all Interests, yea and all Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin!—

Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, Show yourselves to be men; "quit yourselves like men!" It doth not infer any reproach if you do show yourselves men: *Christian* men,—*which* alone *will* make you "quit

[35] Antea, p. 210.

yourselves." I do not think that, to this work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean spirit; and we know what God said of that Church: it was "lukewarm," and therefore He would "spew it out of His mouth!" It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you. And if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the *wrong* way! Men are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck; and it's no wonder if these can shake hands with persons of reprobate Interests:—such, give me leave to think, are the Popish Interests. For the Apostle brands them so, "having seared consciences." Though I do not judge every man:—but the ringleaders[36] are such. The Scriptures foretold there should be such. It is not such a spirit that will carry this work on! It is men in a Christian state; who have *works* with *faith;* who know how to lay hold on Christ for remission 'of sins,' till a man be brought to "glory in hope." Such an hope kindled in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are tending to: and so many as are partakers of that, and do own your standings,[37] wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, 'so many' will carry it on.

If men, through scruple, be opposite, you cannot take them by the hand to *carry* them 'along with you,'—it were absurd: if a man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another business in *his* mind; he is saying, "Oh, if we could but "exercise wisdom to gain Civil Liberty,—Religion would "follow!" [*His Highness thinks Religion will* PRECEDE,—*as I hope thou also, in a sense, emphatically thinkest. His Highness does not much affect Constitution-builders, Oceana Har-*

[36] Of the Insurrectionary persons, and the general Miscellany who favour the Popish Interests; it is on these more than on Papists proper that his Highness is now again coming to glance.

[37] Present official positions.

*ringtons, and Members of the Rota Club. Here, however, he has his eye principally upon the late Parliament, with its Constitution-pedantries and parchments.*] Certainly there are such men, who are not *maliciously* blind, whom God, for some cause, exercises. [*Yes, your Highness; we poor Moderns have had whole shoals of them, and still have,—in the later sections of that same "work" you are engaged in.*] It cannot be expected that they should do anything! [*Profound silence.*] These men,—they must demonstrate that they are in bonds.— —Could we have carried it thus far, if we had sat disputing in that manner? I must profess I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. [*What could so try one as that Pedant Parliament did; disputing, doling-out pennyweights of distilled constitution; and Penruddock, Charles Stuart and the Spaniards waiting momentarily to come in, with Ate and the Scarlet Woman in their rear?*] Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry-on this work, much less such as are merely carnal, natural; such as having an "outward profession of Godliness," whom the Apostle speaks of so often, "are enemies to the cross of "Christ; whose god is their belly; whose glory is in their "shame; who mind earthly things." [*A really frightful kind of character;—and not yet obsolete, though its dialect is changed!*] Do you think these men will rise to such a spiritual heat for the Nation as shall carry you a Cause like this; as will meet 'and defy' all the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make? [*Not to* BE *expected, your Highness; not at all. And yet we, two-hundred years later, how do we go on expecting it,—by the aid of Ballot-boxes, Reform-Club Attorneys, &c. &c.!*]

Give me leave to tell you,—those that are called to this work, it will not depend 'for them' upon formalities, nor

notions, nor speeches! [*A certain truculency on his Highness's visage.*] I do not look the work should be done by these. 'No;' but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God; strengthened by Providence; enlightened in His words, to know His Word,—to which He hath set His Seal, sealed with the blood of His Son, with the blood of His Servants: *that* is such a spirit as will carry on this work. [*Scant in the Pedant Parliament, scant in the Rota Club; not to be found in the Reform-Club Attorney, or his Ballot-box, at all.*]

Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things which may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think *every* objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, Look up to God; have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly that if I have interest,[38] I am by the voice of the People the Supreme Magistrate [*We will have no disputing about that,—you are aware!*]; and, it may be, do know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt! But it is a union, really it is a union, 'this' between you and me: and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to His peculiar Interest in the world, —*that* must ground this work. And in *that*, if I have any peculiar Interest which is personal to myself, which is not subservient to the Public end,—it were not an extravagant thing for me to *curse* myself: because I know God will curse me, if I have! [*Look in that countenance of his Highness!*] I have learned too much of God, to dally with Him, and to be bold with Him, in these things. And I hope I never shall be bold with Him;—though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist!—

I say, if there be love between us, so that the Nations[39] may say, "These are knit together in one bond, to promote

[38] Means 'if you see me in power.'

[39] The Three Nations.

"the glory of God against the Common Enemy; to sup-"press everything that is Evil, and encourage whatsoever "is of Godliness,"—yea, the Nation will bless you! And really that and nothing else will work-off these Disaffections from the minds of men; which are great,—perhaps greater than all the 'other' oppositions you can meet with. I do know what I say. When I speak of these things, I speak my heart before God;—and, as I said before, I dare not be bold with Him. I have a little faith: I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be "bold." If I spoke other than the affections and secrets of my heart, I know He would not bear it at my hands! [*Deep silence; his Highness's voice, in sonorous bass, alone audible in the Painted Chamber.*] Therefore in the fear and name of God: Go on, with love and integrity, against whatever arises of contrary to those ends which you know and have been told of; and the blessing of God go with you,—and the blessing of God *will* go with you! [*Amen!*]

I have but one thing more to say. I know it is troublesome:—But I did read a Psalm yesterday; which truly may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the Eighty-fifth Psalm;[40] it is very instructive and significant: and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. [*We will many of us read it, this night; almost all of us, with one view or the other;—and some of us may sing a part of it at evening worship.*]

It begins: "Lord, Thou hast been very favourable to "Thy Land; Thou hast brought back the captivity of "Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of Thy People; "Thou hast covered all their sin. Thou hast taken away

[40] Historical: Tuesday, 16th Sept. 1656; Oliver Protector reading the Eighty-fifth Psalm in Whitehall. We too might read it; but as his Highness recites it all here except one short verse, it is not so necessary.

"all the fierceness of Thy wrath: Thou has turned Thy-
"self from the fierceness of Thine anger. Turn us, O God
"of our salvation, and cause Thine anger toward us to
"cease. Wilt Thou be angry with us forever; wilt Thou
"draw out Thine anger to all generations? Wilt Thou
"not revive us again, that Thy People may rejoice in
"Thee?" Then he calls upon God as "the God of his
"salvation,"[41] and then saith he: "I will hear what God
"the Lord will speak: for He will speak peace unto His
"People, and to His Saints; but let them not turn again
"to folly. Surely His Salvation is nigh them that fear
"Him;" Oh—"that glory may dwell in our Land! Mercy
"and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace
"have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the
"Earth, and Righteousness shall look down from Heaven.
"Yea the Lord shall give that which is good, and our
"Land shall yield her increase. Righteousness shall go
"before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps."
[*What a vision of celestial hope is this! vista into Lands of Light; God's Will done on Earth; this poor English Earth an Emblem of Heaven; where God's Blessing reigns supreme; where ghastly Falsity and brutal Greed and Baseness, and Cruelty and Cowardice, and Sin and Fear, and all the Hell-dogs of Gehenna shall lie chained under our feet; and Man, august in divine manhood, shall step victorious over them, heavenward, like a god! O Oliver, I could weep, — and yet it steads not. Do not I too look into "Psalms," into a kind of Eternal Psalm, unalterable as adamant,—which the whole world yet will look into? Courage, my brave one!*]

Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we might say as David, "*Thou* hast done this," and "Thou
"hast done that;" "Thou has pardoned our sins; Thou

[41] Verse 7, 'Show us Thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us Thy salvation.'

"hast taken away our iniquities"! Whither can we go to a better God? For "He hath done it." It is to Him any Nation may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His wrath. How did He do it? "By pardoning their sins, by taking away their iniquities!" If we can but cry unto Him, He will "turn and take away *our* sins."—Then let us listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parliament; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, "for He will speak peace unto His People." If you be the People of God, He will speak *peace;*—and we will not turn again to folly.

"Folly:" a great deal of grudging in the Nation that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like! [*Abolished, suspended, for good reasons!*] I do not think these are lawful, except to make them recreations. That we will not endure 'for necessary ends' [*For preventing Royalist Plots, and suchlike*] to be abridged of them:—Till God hath brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with us. Ay, "but He bears with them in France;" "they in France are so and so!"—Have they *the Gospel* as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights.——If God give you a spirit of Reformation, you will preserve this Nation from "turning again" to those fooleries:—and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then "Mercy and Truth shall meet together." Here is a great deal of "truth" among professors, but very little "mercy"! They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But when we are brought into the right way, we shall be *merciful* as well as orthodox: and we know who it is that saith, "If a man could speak with "the tongues of men and angels, and yet want *that*, he is "but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal!"—

Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this 'work.' And if you set your hearts to it,

then you will sing Luther's Psalm.[42] That is a rare Psalm for a Christian!—and if he set his heart open, and can approve it to God, we *shall* hear him say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble." If Pope and Spaniard, and Devil and all, set themselves against us,—though they should "compass us like bees," as it is in the Hundred-and-eighteenth Psalm,—yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them! And, as it is in this Psalm of Luther's: "We will not fear, though the "Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried "into the middle of the sea; though the waters thereof "roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with "the swelling thereof." [*A terrible scene indeed:—but there is something in the Heart of Man, then, greater than any "scene;" which, in the Name of the Highest, can defy any "scene" or terror whatsoever? "Yea," answers the Hebrew David; "Yea," answers the German Luther; "Yea," the English Cromwell. The Ages responsive to one another; soul hailing soul across the dead Abysses; deep calling unto deep.*] "There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad "the City of God. God is in the midst of her; she shall "not be moved." [*No!*] Then he repeats two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is "our refuge." [*What are the King of Spain, Charles Stuart, Joseph Wagstaff, Chancellor Hyde, and your triple-hatted*

[42] Psalm Forty-sixth; of which Luther's Paraphrase, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, is still very celebrated. Here is the original Psalm:

'God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in trouble; therefore we 'will not fear,—though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried 'into the midst of the sea; though the waters roar and be troubled, though the 'mountains shake with the swelling thereof!

'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God, the Holy 'Place of the Tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her; she shall 'not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early. The Heathen raged, the 'Kingdoms were moved: He uttered His voice, the Earth melted. The Lord of 'Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

'Come behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the 'Earth! He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth; He breaketh the 'bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire:—Be still, 'and know that I am God; I will be exalted among the Heathen, I will be exalted 'in the Earth! The Lord of Hosts is with us: the God of Jacob is our refuge.'

*Chimera at Rome? What is the Devil in General, for that matter,—the still very extensive Entity called "Devil," with all the force he can raise?*]

I have done. All I have to say is, To pray God that He may bless you with His presence; that He who hath your hearts and mine would show His presence in the midst of us.

I desire you will go together, and choose your Speaker.*

The latest of the Commentators expresses himself in reference to this Speech in the following singular way:

'No Royal Speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere 'in the world! It is,—with all its prudence, and it is very 'prudent, sagacious, courteous, right royal in spirit,—perhaps 'the most artless transparent piece of Public Speaking this 'Editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine; like a 'block of unbeaten gold. A Speech not so fit for Drury Lane, 'as for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods. The man 'himself, and the England he presided over, there and then, 'are to a singular degree visible in it; open to our eyes, to 'our sympathies. He who would see Oliver, will find more 'of him here than in most of the history-books yet written 'about him.

'On the whole, the cursory modern Englishman cannot 'be expected to read this Speech:—and yet it is pity; the 'Speech might do him good, if he understood it. We shall 'not again hear a Supreme Governor talk in this strain: the 'dialect of it is very obsolete; much more than the grammar 'and diction, forever obsolete,—not to my regret the dialect 'of it. But the spirit of it is a thing that should never have 'grown obsolete. The spirit of it will have to revive itself 'again; and shine out in *new* dialect and vesture, in infinitely 'wider compass, wide as God's known Universe *now* is,—if 'it please Heaven! Since that spirit went obsolete, and men 'took to "dallying" with the Highest, to "being bold" with 'the Highest, and not "bold with men" (only Belial, and not '"Christ" in any shape, assisting them), we have had but sorry 'times, in Parliament and out of it. There has not been a 'Supreme Governor worth the meal upon his periwig, in com-

* *Burton's Diary*, i., Introd. pp. clviii.-clxxix. (from Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125).

'parison,—since this spirit fell obsolete. How could there? 'Belial is a desperately-bad sleeping-partner in any concern 'whatever! Cant did not ever yet, that I know of, turn ulti- 'mately to a good account, for any man or thing. May the 'Devil swiftly be compelled to call-in large masses of our cur- 'rent stock of Cant, and withdraw it from circulation! Let 'the people "run for gold," as the Chartists say; demand 'Veracity, Performance, instead of mealy-mouthed Speaking; 'and force him to recall his Cant. Thank Heaven, stern Des- 'tiny, merciful were it even to death, does now compel them 'verily to "run for gold:" Cant in all directions is swiftly 'ebbing into the Bank *it* was issued by.'—

Speech being ended, the Honourable Members 'went to the House,' says Bulstrode;[43] and in the Lobby, with consider- able crowding I think, 'received, from the Chancery Clerk, Certificates in this form,'—for instance:

'COUNTY OF BUCKS. *These are to certify that*' Sir Bul- strode Whitlocke '*is returned by Indenture one of the Knights* '*to serve in this present Parliament for the said County, and* '*approved by his Highness's Council.* NATH. TAYLER, *Clerk* '*of the Commonwealth in Chancery.*'

Mr. Tayler has received Four-hundred 'Indentures' from Honourable Gentlemen; but he does not give out Four-hun- dred 'Certificates,' he only gives Three-hundred and odd. Near One-hundred Honourable Gentlemen can get no Certifi- cate from Mr. Tayler,—none provided for *you*;—and without Certificate there is no admittance. Soldiers stand ranked at the door; no man enters without his Certificate! Astonish- ing to see. Haselrig, Scott and the stiff Republicans, Ashley Cooper and the turbulent persons, who might have leavened this Parliament into strange fermentation, cannot, it appears, get in! No admittance here: saw Honourable Gentlemen ever the like?—

The most flagrant violation of the Privileges of Parliament that was ever known! exclaim they. A sore blow to Privilege indeed. With which the Honourable House, shorn of certain limbs in this rude way, knows not well what to do. The Clerk of the Commonwealth, being summoned, answers what he can; Nathaniel Fiennes, for the Council of State, answers what he

[43] Whitlocke, p. 639.

can: the Honourable House, actually intent on Settling the Nation, has to reflect that in real truth this will be a great furtherance thereto; that matters do stand in an anomalous posture at present; that the Nation should and must be settled. The Honourable House, with an effort, swallows this injury; directs the petitioning Excluded Members 'to apply to the Council.'[44] The Excluded Members, or some one Excluded Member, redacts an indignant Protest, with all the names appended;[45] prints it, privately circulates it, 'in boxes sent by carriers, a thousand copies in a box:'—and there it rests; his Highness saying nothing to it; the Honourable House and the Nation saying nothing. In this Parliament, different from the last, we trace a real desire for Settlement.

As the power of the Major-Generals, 'in about two months hence,'[46] or three months hence, was, on hint of his Highness himself, to the joy of Constitutional England, withdrawn, we may here close *Part Ninth*. Note first, however, as contemporary with this event, the glorious news we have from Blake and Montague at sea; who, in good hour, have at last got hold of a Spanish Fleet, and in a tragic manner burnt it, and taken endless silver therein.[47] News of the fact comes in the beginning of October: in the beginning of November comes, as it were, the fact itself,—some Eight-and-thirty wagonloads of real silver: triumphantly jingling up from Portsmouth, across London pavements to the Tower, to be coined into current English money there. The Antichrist King of Spain has lost Lima by an earthquake, and infinite silver there also. Heaven's vengeance seems awakening. 'Never,' say the old Newspapers,[48] 'never was there a more terrible visible Hand 'of God in judgment upon any People, since the time of Sodom 'and Gomorrah! Great is the Lord; marvellous are His do-'ings, and to be had in reverence of all the Nations.' England holds universal Thanksgiving Day; sees Eight-and-thirty wagonloads of silver, sees hope of Settlement, sees Major-Generals abolished; and piously blesses Heaven.

[44] *Commons Journals*, vii. 424-6 (Sept. 18th-22d).

[45] Copy of it and them in *Whitlocke*, pp. 641-3; see also *Thurloe*, v. 456, 490.

[46] Kimber, p. 211. The real date and circumstances may be seen in *Burton's Diary*, i. 310 (7th Jan. 1656-7), *Commons Journals*, vii. 483 (29th Jan.); compared with Ludlow, ii. 581-2. See Godwin, iv. 328.

[47] Captain Stayner's Letter (9th Sept. 1656, *Thurloe*, v. 399); General Montague's Letter (ib. p. 433); Whitlocke, p. 643; &c.

[48] 6th October (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 160).

# PART TENTH.

## SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1657-1658.

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### LETTERS CCXV. CCXVI.

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place; which offer a rather singular contrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

### LETTER CCXV.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

*To the Mayor of Newcastle: To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern.*

Whitehall, 18th December 1656.

GENTLEMEN, AND MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS,

My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a Letter written from yourselves

to him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either Personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other:—'this' shall be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively 'left to' suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye, did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an Answer thereunto;—a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition 'there' expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself "a name and praise amongst all the people of the "earth,"—He "will save her that halteth, and gather her

"that was driven out, and will get them praise and fame "in every land, where they have been put to shame."[1] And such "lame ones" and "driven-out ones" were not the Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands,—persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the Flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you;—being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand-by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER P.*

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## LETTER CCXVI.

CARDINAL MAZARIN, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is Treaty with France, and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-mothers, and one knows not what not: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient-servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen-out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers, and back-stairs diplomacies, on the Cardinal's:—of which there flit, in the dreariest manner, this and the other enigmatic vestige in the night-realm of *Thurloe*,[2] and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A

[1] Zephaniah, iii. 19, 20.
[2] iv. 506; v. 753; &c. &c.
* Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand.

Letter unique in two respects. It is the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches;[3] who are a very singular pair of Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which, by a hard necessity, so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this 'our weightiest affair,'—not without weight to *me* at least, who sit expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present 'on the word of a Christian King!'—

Concerning the 'affair' itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The 'Person' employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country in woman's clothes; and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. 'Berkley' is the Sir John Berkley who rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since;[4] the Duke of York's Tutor at present Of 'Lockhart,' Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others,—let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive, never so faintly, that their 'affair' is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion; notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide:—as accordingly we find it did for many months,[5] whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

### *'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.'*

'Whitehall,' 26th December 1656.

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do

[3] Three insignificant official Notes to him, in Appendix, Nos. 27, 28.
[4] Antea, vol. i. p. 265.
[5] Thurloe, iv. v. vi.: see also *Biog. Brit.* (2d edition), ii. 154.

engage 'me' to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?) at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.[6]

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, "plucked many out of the fire,"[7]—the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that Person to whom you have intrusted our weightiest Affair: an Affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in an equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry-on that work; and that either the Duke would have

[6] To the Catholics here.

[7] Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable *Epistle*, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

cooled in his suit,[8] or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290[9] were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so particular as, 'in regard' to some circumstances, I would.—If I am not mistaken in his 'the Duke's' character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send 'to' your Eminency by Lockhart.

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach 'be' widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with a little caution in respect of the persons to be added to it,—I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and 'I' will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am, your servant,

OLIVER P.*

[8] His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-Spanish notion.

[9] Cipher for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance Bamfield.

* Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a 'Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex,' says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even as to the latter point. The style sufficiently declares it to be a genuine Letter.

## SPEECH VI.

### SINDERCOMB.

THE Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; 'riding among his Highness's escort' in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with 'gate-hinges ready filed through,' if the deed could have been done;—but it never could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination-affair in other hands, with 1,600*l.* of ready money, 'on the faith of a Christian King.' Quartermaster Sindercomb takes Sexby's place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow;—then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped overnight, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner,—in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quartermaster; has become one of Sexby's people, 'on the faith of a Christian King;' nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter *dark*. Henry Toope, one of his Highness's Lifeguard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the 1,600*l.*, said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith; Garden-House, I think, 'which had a banqueting-room looking into the road;' road very narrow at that part;—road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force,—ancient 'infernal-machines,' in fact,—with these he will blow his Highness's Coach and Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not please Heaven,—probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's Lifeguard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his 1,600*l.*, had to try something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has 'a hundred swift horses, two in a stable, up and down:'—set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and try. Thursday 8th January 1656-7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel; is seen loitering there afterwards, 'near the Lord Lambert's seat.' Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire;—finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wildfire, 'fit almost to burn through stones,'—with lit match slowly creeping towards it, computed to reach it in some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight!—His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned;—alas, Toope of the Lifeguard is examined, and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, 'wherein his nose was nearly cut off;' bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches:—inventive Sindercomb has failed for the *last* time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him!—The emotion in the Parliament and in the Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.[1]

This Parliament, really intent on settling the Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated

[1] Burton, i. 322-3, 355; Official Narrative (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 160, 161); *State-Trials*, v. § Sindercomb.

somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come four weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the mean time we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect to him.[2]

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with mellifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday 23d January 1656-7; about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Mellifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;[3] but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply;—rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, 'part of an ancient wooden staircase,' or balustrade of a staircase, 'long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;'[4] and some honourable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Mellifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers:

MR. SPEAKER,

I confess with much respect, that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion:—but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which you have now expressed. I speak not this with compliment! That which detracts from the thing, in some sense, is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I most readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 481, 484, 493; *Burton's Diary*, i. 369, 377.

[3] Burton, ii. 488.

[4] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162. See *Thurloe* (vi. 49), and correct poor *Noble* (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says my Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August 1657.

I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That the life that is lengthened may be spent and improved to His honour who hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you, and those you represent.

I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the kindness you bear should kindle a little desire in me; even at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have been disposed hither by the Providence of God, to congratulate my mercy; so give me leave, in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. [*Rusty, but sincere.*]

Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed upon men, or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good *you* are in possession of, and in some respect I also with you. God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it,—Three Nations, and all that appertains to them. Which in either a geographical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [*Indisputably!*] In which also there are places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world,—without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! [*Here is an idea of one's own.*] But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu.* And therefore this is a possession of yours, worthy of congratulation.

This is furnished,—give me leave to say, for I believe it is true,—with the best People in the world, possessing so much soil. A People in civil rights,—in respect of their rights and privileges,—very ancient and honourable. And *in* this People, in the midst of this People, 'you have, what is still more precious,' a *People* (I know every one will hear 'and acknowledge' it) that are to God "as the apple of

His eye,"—and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection. A People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [*We hope so!*] And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things.

Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and ordinances, which, though not all of them so conformable as were to be wished to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, pretend not to be long rested-in farther than *as* they are conformable to the just and righteous Laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. [*Yea!*] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break forth. [*And we shall actually have just Laws, your Highness thinks?*] That endeavours will be 'made' that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart 'I think' you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a Magistracy; which, in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these Laws. And I am confident that among *you* will rest the true desire to promote every desire in others, and every endeavour, that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these Laws in execution.

I do 'also' for this congratulate you: You have a Gospel Ministry among you. That have you! Such an one as,—without vanity I shall speak it; or without caring at all for any favour or respect from *them*, save what I have upon an account above flattery, or good words,—such an one as hath excelled itself; and, I am persuaded,—to speak with confidence before the Lord,—is the most growing blessing (one of the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

You have a good Eye 'to watch over you,'—and in that I will share with your good favours. A good God; a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm; and borne His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, against those that 'would' have abused such Nations, —such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up unto you! A God that hath not only withstood such to the face; but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidence of His goodness and presence. And He "hath done things "wonderful amongst us," "by terrible things in righteous- "ness."[5] He hath visited us by "wonderful things"! [*A Time of Miracle; as indeed all "Times" are, your Highness, when there are* MEN *alive in them!*] In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak this, one to another; and to speak of His mercies, as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [*Where now are the Star-Chambers, High Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land? The Hangmen with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-sprinkled Pillories in Old Palaceyard, and Four clean Surplices at Allhallowtide,—where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!*]

Truly, this word in conclusion. If these things be so, give me leave to remember you but one word; which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my Speech now at this time to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better

[5] Isaiah, xxv. 1; Psalm lxv. 5.

do it than by thinking of such words as these, "His salva- "tion is nigh them that fear Him," "that glory may dwell "in our land"! I would not comment upon it. I hope I fear Him;—and let us more fear Him! If this 'present' mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth,—let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him! [*Amen!*] Then we have done, 'that includes all;' seeing such a blessing as His salvation "is nigh them that fear Him,"—seeing we are all of us representatives of all the good of all these lands, 'to endeavour with our whole strength' "that glory may dwell in our land."

'Yes,' if it be so, "Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other." We shall know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory; and how to dispose our severity. How to distinguish between obedient and rebellious children;—and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons "he did not *hear* well of them," when perhaps he *saw* ill *by* them. And we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say,—though I will not descant upon the words,—that Mercy must be joined with Truth: Truth, in that respect, that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, as well as to apply kindness and mercy. And truly, Righteousness and Mercy must kiss each other. If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of Justice and Righteousness. [*Hear this Lord Protector!*] And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this redoubtable Couple together, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace,—you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no! And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, shall be my daily prayer. And I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you.*

* *Burton's Diary* (from Lansdown MSS. 755, no. 244), ii. 490-3.

On Monday 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday, his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, "Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed;" the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. 'He was of that 'wretched sect called *Soul-Sleepers*, who believe that the soul 'falls *asleep* at death:'[6] a gloomy, far-misguided man. They buried him on Tower-hill, with due ignominy; and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.[7]

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, 'the Honourable House, after hearing two Sermons at Marga-'ret's Westminster, partook of a most princely Entertainment,' by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. 'After dinner 'his Highness withdrew to the Cockpit; and there entertained 'them with rare music, both of voices and instruments, till the 'evening;'[8] his Highness being very fond of music. In this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them. And now we will speak of something else.

## LETTER CCXVII.

### KINGSHIP.

THIS Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or 'hundred Excluded Members' are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis. Since the First

[6] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162.

[7] 'Equal to a Roman in virtue,' says the noisy Pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, which seems to have been written by Sexby; though Titus, as adroit King's-Flunky, at an after-period saw good to claim it. A Pamphlet much noised-of in those months and afterwards; recommending all persons to *assassinate* Cromwell;—has this merit, considerable or not, and no other worth speaking of.

[8] Newspapers (in *Burton*, i. 377); *Commons Journals*, vii. 493.

constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-years Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be;—but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans,—the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, or he could never have been the Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse!—To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunky head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunky. If not the noblest and worshipfulest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying!—

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, let us praise this Second Parliament;—admit nevertheless that its History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to little. This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester his Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitution-pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary routine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expected of them, some needful modicum of supplies; 'debated whether it should be debated,' 'put the question whether this question should be put;'—and in a mild way neutralised one another, and as it were handsomely *did nothing*, and left Oliver to do. A Record of their proceedings has been jotted-down by one of their Members there present, who is guessed rather vaguely by Editorial sagacity to have been 'one Mr. Burton.' It was saved from the fire in late years, that Record; has been printed under the title of *Burton's Diary;* and this Editor has faithfully read it,—not without wonder, once more, at the inadequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimmering of insight to the distant human

mind! Alas, the human pen, oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantry, is a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, this poor Burton,—let us continue to call him 'Burton,' though that was not his name,—cared nothing about these matters himself; merely jotted them down *pedantically*, by impulse from without,—that he might seem, in his own eyes and those of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts 'of an high nature.' And now, by what possibility of chance, can he interest thee or me about them; now when they have turned out to be facts of no nature at all,—mere wearisome *ephemera*, and cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and ashes now; which the healthy human mind resolutely, not without impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, as so many are, with mere dim inanity and moaning wind. Will nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four thick octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some streaks of dull light shining even through *it;* perhaps, in judicious hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be made of it;—and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper Index, might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his *Diary*, —who, as we say, is not 'Mr. Burton' at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was![1] Undoubtedly some very dull man. Under chimerical circumstances he gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical!—

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued 'Decimation' or *Ten-per-centing* of the Royalists;[2] whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler,—excelling in stupor all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this Parliament did.

[1] Compare the *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 588; and again *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which "I" the writer of the Diary sat; in neither of which is there such a name as *Burton*. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk *Bacons;* most probably *Nathaniel Bacon*, Master of the 'Court of Requests,'—a dim old Law-Court fallen obsolete now.

[2] *Commons Journals*, 7th to 29th Jan. 1656-7.

If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither. To Posterity they sit there as the James-Nayler Parliament. Four-hundred Gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon; a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him;—shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated;—in Heaven's name, what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Nayler? This is the history of Oliver's Second Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it "dull." They hold by Use and Wont, these honourable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature,—by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigour speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labour, appointed only for the oxen of the gods!—The honourable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread-and-water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.[3]

[3] Sentence pronounced, *Commons Journals*, vii. 486-7 (16th Dec. 1656); executed in part, Thursday 18th Dec. (ib. 470);—petitions, negotiations on it do not end till May 26th, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation is in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 23-29.

## LETTER CCXVII.

CONCERNING which, however, and by what power of jurisdiction the honourable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still some inquiry to make;—for the limits of jurisdiction between Parliament and Law-Courts, Parliament and Single Person, are never yet very clear; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a Single Person have been known to be very tyrannous before now! On Friday 26th December, Speaker Widdrington intimates that he is honoured with a Letter from his Highness; and reads the same in these words:

*To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of the Parliament: To be communicated to the Parliament.*

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of a Judgment lately given by Yourselves against one James Nayler: Although We detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said Person: Yet We, being intrusted in the present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations; and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it,—Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall, the 25th of December 1656.*

A pertinent inquiry; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses;—and, in *fact*,

* Burton, i. 370; see *Commons Journals*, vii. 475.

into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge: That of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction; and offering his Highness the Title of King.—

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of 'the Page of History' this last business has given rise to! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important businesses in Oliver's Protectorate; though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere 'feather in a man's cap,' throwing no new light on Oliver; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our painful duty to deal with this matter also; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent, under which, as usual, they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight, Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us; and cannot yet be consumed by fire;—not yet, till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark pettifoggings of Oliver; and asked candid Mankind, Whether there is anything particular in them? Mankind answering No, fire can be applied; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favour of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned; the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless, distracted condition;—growing ever more distracted, as each new Imaginary-Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in *Somers Tracts*,[4]

[4] vi. 349-403.

which is our latest form of the business, they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with that Pamphlet in *Somers*. In or out of Bedlam, we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is *not* it. O Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general — ! — But we will complain of nothing. Know well, by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bisons and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, *were* once a kind of regularly planted wood! — Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of *fire;* and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little new light, but also no new darkness, upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.

*Monday 23d February* 1656-7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce 'Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation,'—leave, namely, to read this Paper 'which has come to his hand,' which is written in the form of a 'Remonstrance from the Parliament' to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to his Highness. Will not the Honourable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honourable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority 'that a candle be brought in.' Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a *Second* House of Parliament, the Protector something like a King; very great changes indeed! Debate this matter farther tomorrow.

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day,—let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really

important.[5] On farther manipulation, this 'Remonstrance' of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name 'Petition and Advice presented to his Highness,' became famous to the world in those spring months. We can see, the Honourable House has 'a very good resentment of it.' The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

*Friday 27th February.* 'The Parliament keep a Fast 'within their own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, 'carrying on the work of the day; it being preparatory to the 'great work now on hand of Settling the Nation.'[6] In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a Hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as 'a scandal to the People of God,' 'hazardous to his Highness's person, and making way for the return of Charles Stuart,' are terribly apparent to them!—

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: "That he now specifically hears of this "project for the first time,—*he*" (with emphasis on the word, and a look at some individuals there) "has not been caballing "about it, for it or against it. That the Title 'King' need "not startle *them* so dreadfully; inasmuch as some of them "well know" (what the Historical Public never knew before) "it was already offered to him, and pressed upon him, by "themselves when this Government was undertaken. That "the Title King, a feather in a hat, is as little valuable to him "as to them. But that the fact is, they and he have not succeeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by the schemes *they* "clamoured for. Their Little Parliament, their First Protectorate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, have "all proved failures;—nay this Parliament itself, which they "clamoured for, had almost proved a failure. That the Nation "is tired of Major-Generalcies, of uncertain arbitrary ways; "and really wishes to come to a Settlement. That actually

[5] *Commons Journals*, vii. 496-7. [6] Newspapers (in Burton, i. 380).

"the original Instrument of Government does need mending "in some points. That a House of Lords, or other check upon "the arbitrary tendencies of a Single House of Parliament, "may be of real use: see what they, by their own mere vote "and will, I having no power to check them, have done with "James Nayler: may it not be any one's case, some other "day?" That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again.—So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden. 'Three Major-Generals,' we find next week, 'have already come round. The House hath gone on with much unity.'[7]

The House, in fact, is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice. Amid the rumour of England, all through this month of March 1657. 'Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor;' so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have, is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate and guess! —Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen well-debated Articles;[8] fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title, as we guessed, is to be *King*. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

## SPEECHES VII.—X.

On Tuesday 31st March 1657, 'the House rose at eleven 'o'clock, and Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole 'House, repaired to his Highness at Whitehall,'[1] to present this same Petition and Advice, 'engrossed on vellum,' and with the Title of "King" recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech[2] is omissible. As the interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver *loquitur*.

[7] *Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers* (in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125; printed in Burton, i. 382-4), a Fragment of a Letter, bearing date 7th March 1656-7;—to the effect abridged as above.

[8] Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq.

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 516.

[2] Burton, i. 397-413.

MR. SPEAKER,

This Frame of Government which it hath pleased the Parliament through your hand to offer to me, —truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it did not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance as, by your opening of it,[3] and by the mere reading of it, is manifest to all men; the welfare, the peace and settlement of Three Nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world[4] being involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in the world.

Truly I rather study to say no more at this time than is necessary for giving some brief general answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight; the greatest weight of anything that ever was laid upon a man. And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth,—in each of which much more than my life is concerned,—truly I think I have no more to desire of you at present, but that you would give me time to deliberate and consider *what* particular answer I may return to so great a business as this.—

I have lived the latter part of my age in,—if I may say so,—the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would 'so move,' nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me!—And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that

[3] In this long floid speech. [4] Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world.

the burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to *stand* under the weight of what hath lain upon me :—except by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it. Which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure to me.

And should I give any resolution in this 'matter' suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto,—it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made [*Of me to be King*] in such a business as this. It would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if,—whatsoever the issue of this 'great matter' be,—'my decision in' it have *such* motives in me, have *such* a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business; and have had those honest and sincere aims[5] towards the glory of God, the good of His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things may be intended well,—as they are always, or for the most, by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim (and such honest ends and purposes I do believe yours now are);—yet if these considerations[6] fall upon a person or persons whom God takes no pleasure in; who perhaps may be at the end of his work [*Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness!—A kind of pathos, and much dignity and delicacy in these tones*]; who, to please any of those humours or considerations which are of this world, shall run

[5] *Subaudi*, but do not insert, 'which you profess.'

[6] Means 'your choice in regard to such purpose;' speaks delicately, in an oblique way.

upon such a rock as this is,[7]—without due consideration, without integrity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from Him; and putting things *to* Him as if for life and death, that such an answer may be received 'from Him' as may be a blessing to the person [*Me*] who is to be used for these noble and worthy and honest intentions of the persons [*You*] that have prepared and perfected this work:—'why then,' it would be like a match where a good and worthy and virtuous man *mistakes* in the person he makes love to; and, as often turns out, it proves a curse to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed at,—why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born!—

I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That seeing you have made progress in this Business, and completed the work on your part, I 'on my side' may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak unwise people, nor yet the desires of any who may be lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful,—thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity;—and such an answer as shall be for the good of those whom I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving.

And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can.*

[7] 'is,'—or may be: this of the Kingship.

* *Burton's Diary*, i. 413-16.

## SPEECH VIII.

*Friday 3d April* 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is nominated, extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke, and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is,—a negative, but none of the most decided.[8]

My Lords,

I am heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; 'the desire' which I acquainted them with, by Letter, this day. The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these last two days, Yesterday and Wednesday. [*It is yet but three days, your Highness.*]

I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper, which was presented to me by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The *one* is that of Religion, and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of God;—which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do refer it more fully to be done by yourselves and me. And as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness, you have done

[8] *Commons Journals*, vii. 519-20; Burton, i. 417.

that which was never done before! And I pray it may not fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, in any sort of them, if they do not put such a value upon this that is now done as never was put on anything since Christ's time, for such a Catholic interest of the People of God! [*Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very "Catholic interest" indeed.*] The *other* thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar Interest of God,—yet it is the *next best* God hath given men in this world; and if well cared-for, it is better than any rock to fence men in their other interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, 'or two different things,' I wish my soul may never enter into *their* secrets! [*We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!*]

These are things I must acknowledge Christian and honourable; and they are provided for by you like Christian men and also men of honour,—like yourselves, English men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. And I must say, If I were to give an account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one; if I were asked, Why I have engaged all along in the late War, I could give no answer that were not a wicked one if it did not comprehend these Two ends!—Meanwhile only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it serious), that you have one or two considerations which do stick with me. The one is, You have named me by another Title than I now bear. [*What* SHALL *I answer to that?*]

You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and

you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all. [*Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the whole of it.*] I question not your wisdom in doing so; I think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination; knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done. [*Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!*]

I should be very brutish did I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good, it hath nothing but good in it,—according to worldly approbation of[9] sovereign power. You have testified your value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a grateful memory of this in my heart;—and by you I return the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own ingratitude.—But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. [*Profound silence.*] And as I should reckon it a very great presumption, were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this Paper,—(except 'in' some very few things, the 'new' Instrument, 'this Paper,' bears testimony to itself),—so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, That it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, *without* urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious, and most to my advantage in answering: Namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge. [*Won't have it, then!*]

And if the "answer of the tongue," as well as the pre-

[9] Means 'value for.'

paration of the heart, be "from God," I must say my heart and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business—[*Sentence breaks down*]—'For' though I could not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it in common with others. — —I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the way is hedged-up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that Title. [*Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily!*]

The most I said in commendation of the 'new' Instrument may be retorted on me;—as thus: "Are there such "good things provided for 'in this Instrument;' will you "refuse to accept them because of such an ingredient?" Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved, 'for the whole Paper or none of it,' it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you to alter their resolution.

This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you.*

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think!—No; he is groping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King! Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of a Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the

* Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125: printed in *Burton*, i. 417; and *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 161.

first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No!—

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## SPEECH IX.

*Wednesday 8th April* 1657. The Parliament, justly interpreting this *No* of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will 'present reasons to his Highness;' has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready;—and, this day, 'at three in the afternoon,' walks over in a body to the Banqueting-House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum, and a Written Paper of 'Reasons,' to present the same.[10] What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion is happily lost; but his 'Reasons,' which are very brief, remain on the Record;[11] and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April 1657:

'*Resolved*, That the Parliament having lately presented their 'Humble Petition and Advice to your Highness, whereunto 'they have not as yet received satisfaction; and the matters 'contained in that Petition and Advice being agreed-upon by 'the Great Council and Representative of the Three Nations; 'which matters, in their judgment, are most conducing to the 'good of the People thereof both in Spiritual and Civil con-'cernments: They have therefore thought fit

'To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in 'mind of the great obligation which rests upon you in respect 'of this Advice; and again to desire you to give your Assent 'thereunto.'

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read, and then delivered to his Highness, with some brief touches of mellifluous eloquence now happily lost,—his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him:

MR. SPEAKER,

No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the

[10] *Commons Journals*, ii. 520-1 (6th, 8th April); Burton, i. 421. [11] Ibid.

Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice;—readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of the Parliament of these Three Nations. And if a man could suppose it were *not* a Parliament to some [*Malignants there are who have such notions*];—yet doubtless it should be to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that *we* have laboured to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the weight of authority 'you have' in advising these things.

I can aggravate also to myself the general notion of the Things Advised-to; as being things which tend to the settlement of the chiefest Interests[12] that can fall into the hearts of men to devise or endeavour-after. And at such a time, 'too;' when truly, I may think, the nation is big with expectation of something that may add to their 'security of' Being.—I therefore must needs puts a very high esteem 'upon,' and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you.

And so I have had of this Instrument:—and, I hope, so I have expressed. And what I have expressed, hath been, —if I flatter not myself,—from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to compliment you. For we are all past complimenting, and all considerations of that kind! [*Serious enough his Highness is, and we all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed the* MAKER *of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!*] We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so!—

Now, howbeit your title and name you give to this

[12] 'things' again, in orig.

Paper [*Looking on the Vellum*] makes me think you intended "Advice;" and I should trangress against all reason, should I make any other construction than that you did intend Advice: 'yet'—!—[*Still hesitates, then?*]—I would not lay a burden on my beast but I would consider his strength to bear it! And if you lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmity and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsels which may seem to come from Heaven, counsels from the Word of God (who leaves room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength),—I hope it will be no evil in me to measure your "Advice" with my own Infirmities. And truly these will have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him that receives talents[13] to know how he may answer the trust of them. And such a conscience have I had 'in this matter;' and still have; and therefore, when I thought I had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer [*The unemphatic Negative; truest "Answer" your Highness then had:—can it not grow an Affirmative?*]—and am a person that have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, To know *what* might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to me! [*Deep silence: Old Parliament casts down its eyes.*]—

Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore, I think, a matter of philosophical discourse, That great places, great authority, are a great burden. I know it so. And I know a man that is convinced in his conscience, Nothing less will enable *him* to the discharge of it than Assistance from Above. And it may very well require in such a one, so convinced and so persuaded, That he be right with the Lord in such an undertaking!—And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly to you: I had, and I have, my

[13] Meaning 'charges,' 'offices.'

hesitations as to that individual thing. [*Still Negative, your Highness?*] If I undertake anything *not* in Faith, I shall serve you in my own Unbelief;—and I shall then be the most unprofitable Servant that People or Nation ever had!

Give me leave, therefore, *to ask counsel.* I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions; which haply may be overswayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have deserved no blame; nor do I take it you will lay any upon me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. And truly the same answer I have as to the point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty another way.[14] — I would not urge to you the point of "Liberty." Surely you have provided for Liberty,—I have borne my witness to it,—Civil and Spiritual! The greatest provision that ever was made have you made, 'for Liberty' to all,—and I know that you do not intend to exclude *me.* The "Liberty" I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and my own fears, and my scruples. And though haply, in such cases as these are, the world hath judged that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples; yet surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore—!—

They that are knowing in the ground of their own Action will be best able to measure advice to others. [*Will have us reason, in Free Conference, with him?*] There are many things in this 'Instrument of' Government besides that one of the Name and Title, that deserve much to be elucidated[15] as to my judgment. It is you that can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them! Otherwise, I say truly,—I must say, I am not persuaded to the performance of 'this' as my trust and duty, nor 'sufficiently' informed. 'Not persuaded or informed;' and so not actuated 'by a call of *duty*,' as I know you intend I should be,—and as

[14] Bound to regard your "Advice;" and yet, in doing so, not to disregard a Higher.

[15] 'deserve much information' in orig.

every man in the Nation should be. You have provided for 'every one of' them as a Free Man, as a man that is to act possibly,[16] rationally and conscientiously!—And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this:

I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate me to do it; and 'capacitate' yourselves to receive it;—and to do what other things may inform me a little more particularly than this Vote which you have passed Yesterday, and which has now been read by you to me.

Truly I hope when 'once' I understand the ground of these things,—the whole being 'meant' neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation,—there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out what[17] may answer our duty. Mine, and all our duties, to those whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now to you.*

Thus has the Honourable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has scruples; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, 'to receive satisfaction,'—has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated: Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all;[18] and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however, there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon, which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two: a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy, namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never;—explodes accordingly, though in a small way; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

[16] Means 'in a way possible for him;' '*does* possibly' is the phrase in orig.
[17] 'those things' in orig.
* Old Pamphlet (in *Parliamentary History*, xxiii., Appendix, pp. 164-6).
[18] List in *Commons Journals*, vii. 521; in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351.

*Thursday 9th April.* The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it. The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ,—which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us,—perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A Standard set up;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?" O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things!—But in two days time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower; Harrison, hardly connected with the thing, except as a wellwisher, he and others are likewise made secure: and the Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.[19] Nobody was tried for it: Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attempt under Charles Second, some two years hence. The Committee of Ninety-nine can now proceed with its 'satisfaction to his Highness;' his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions; had various Conferences with his Highness,—which unfortunately are not lost; which survive for us, in *Somers Tracts* and the old Pamphlets, under the Title of *Monarchy Asserted;* in a condition, especially his Highness's part of them, enough to drive

[19] Narrative in *Thurloe*, vi. 184-8.

any Editor to despair! The old Pamphleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favour of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Note-paper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world! Let us not speak of it; let us endeavour to get through it,—through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes,—they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea; —but to this of *Somers Tracts* there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most *epic* of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it!—

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words,—dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

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## SPEECH X.

PROPERLY an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere

preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here—simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understand to be the fact, but unhappily not till then,—the aid of *fire* can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday 11th April 1657, 'about nine in the morning;' has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats;—and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much *they* would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labour and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honourable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat: the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence, obliged to break-up and become a kind of Utterance in this thickskinned manner:—really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is!—

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage or two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note,—in the abridged lucidified state:[20]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Understands that the Committee is "here only to receive what his Highness has to *offer;* such "the letter and purport of our Instructions; which I now "read. [*Reads it.*] Your Highness mentions 'the Govern- "ment that now is;' seems to hint thereby: The Government "being well now, why change it? If that be your Highness's "general objection, the Committee will give you satisfac- "tion."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. Sir, I think both parties of us meet here with a very good heart to come to some issue in this great business; and truly that is what I have all the reason in the world to move me to. And I am exceeding ready to be ordered by you as to the manner of pro-

[20] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 352.

ceeding. Only I confess, according to the thoughts I have,—in preparing my thoughts for so great a work, I formed this notion to myself: That the Parliament having already done me the honour of Two Conferences;[21] and now sent you again, their kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive in the thing; might have declared their Address itself to be enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I perceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my doubts that they aim at; and there is one clause in the Paper itself, 'quoted by my Lord Whitlocke,' which doth a little warrant that: "To offer such reasons for his satisfaction," &c.—Now, Sir, it's certain the occasion of all this 'Conference' is the Answer I already made; that's the occasion of your having to come hither again. And truly, Sir, I doubt whether by your plan ——If you will *draw out my reasons from me*, I will offer them to you: but on my own part, I doubt, if you should proceed that other way, it would a little put me out of the method of my own thoughts. And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour—["*To go by my method*," *his Highness means; to* "*offer* "*me* YOUR *Reasons, and* DRAW *me out, rather than oblige me* "*to* COME *out*"]—I shall take it as a favour, if it please you! I will leave you together to consider your own thoughts of it. [*Motioning to go.*]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "This Committee, being sent to wait "upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give "the *Parliament's* reasons for what the Parliament hath done. "But any gentleman here may give for your Highness's satis- "faction his own particular apprehension of them. And if "you will be pleased to go in the way you have propounded, "and on any point *require* a satisfaction from the Committee,

[21] Two Conferences with the whole Parliament; and one Conference with a Committee: Speeches VII. (31st March), IX. (8th April), and VIII. (3d April).

"I suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give "you satisfaction." [*Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.*]

THE LORD PROTECTOR. If this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath dictated to you?—However, I think it is clearly expressed that the Parliament intends satisfaction. Then it is *as* clear that there must be reasons and arguments which have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction! I speak for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.[22] I say it doth appear to me you have the liberty of giving your own reasons. If I should write down any of *them*, I could not call that "the reason of Parliament." [*Whitlocke, in a heavy manner, smiles respectful assent.*] But in Parliamentary and other such conclusions the efficient "reason" is diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet when they have determined such and such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that "reason"—!—I do very respectfully represent to you that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing [*Glancing at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship*]; and do desire to be informed of the grounds that lead you, whom I presume to be all satisfied with it and with every part of it. And if you will be pleased, if you so think fit,—I will not urge it farther upon you,—to proceed in that way, it will be a favour to me. Otherwise, I deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions: and in that case I shall beg that we may have an hour's deliberation, and meet again in the afternoon.

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN,—one of the old expelled

[22] As if I meant to dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties.

Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: "The Parliament has sent us to give all the satisfaction which "it is in our understandings to give. Certainly we will try to "proceed according to what method your Highness finds best "for that end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, however, "is general, consisting of many heads; and we can give but "general satisfaction."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. If you will please to give me leave. [*Clearing his throat to get under way.*] I do agree, truly, the thing is a general; for it either falls under the notion of Settlement, which is a general consisting of many particulars; or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, "Petition and Advice,"—that again is a general; it is advice, desires and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say truth, but one thing. Only, the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament,[23] I did offer to them that they might put me in the way of getting satisfaction as to particulars, 'any or all particulars.' Now, no question I might easily offer something particular for debate, if I thought that would answer the end. [*What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come to close action! As in other affairs of courtship.*] For truly I know my end and yours is the same: To bring things to an issue one way or the other, that we may know where we are,—that we may attain the general end, which is Settlement. [*Safe ground here, your Highness!*] The end is in us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the world that it is not more in his heart than in mine!——I would go into some particulars [*Especially one particular, the Kingship*], to ask a question, to ask a reason of the alteration 'made;' which might well enough let you into the business,—that it might.[24]

[23] Wednesday last, 8th April; Speech IX.
[24] A favourite reduplication with his Highness; that it is!

Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [*I had counted on being drawn out, not on* COMING *out: I understood I was the young lady, and* YOU *the wooer!*] I confess I did not so strictly examine the terms of your Order from the Parliament, 'which my Lord Whitlocke cites;' whether I even read it or no I cannot tell.—[*Pause*].—If you will have it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer, 'and so let us into the business;'—though perhaps I shall object weakly enough! I shall very freely submit to you.

GLYNN (with official solemnity). "The Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction."

LORD COMMISSIONER FIENNES,—Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of 'Old Subtlety' Say and Sele; and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper, —opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard sagacity,[25] to say: "Looking upon the Order, I find that *we* "may offer your Highness *our* reasons, if your Highness's dis- "satisfaction be to the alteration of the Government whether "in general or in particular."—So that his Highness may have it his own way, after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I am very ready to say, I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, for bringing these Nations into a good Settlement. Perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favourable to the great end of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the preservation of all honest Interests that have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objection to the general 'fact,' That the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or Govern-

[25] Good Portrait of him in Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*.

ment. But you having done it in such way, and rendered me so far an interested party in it by making such an Overture to me [*As this of the Kingship, which modesty forbids me to mention*],—I shall be very glad 'to learn,' if you please to let me know it, besides the *pleasure* of the Parliament, somewhat of the *reason* they had for interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.

Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have less to object.[26] I shall be very ready to specify objections, in order to clear for you whatsoever it may be better to clear; 'in order' at least to help myself towards a clearer understanding of these things;—for better advantage 'to us all;' for that, I know, is in your hearts as well as mine. Though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer calculated to convince you; yet, if you will take it in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

'And now,' if you please,—As to the *first* of the things [*Kingship*], I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put. And I think that some of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would, 'if they were now stated to me,' lead us into such objections or doubts as I may have to offer; and would be a very great help to me in that. And if you will have me offer this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, I shall do it.

Whereupon LORD WHITLOCKE, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;[27] —which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact, the learned pleadings of these illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

[26] 'shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this,' in orig.
[27] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 355.

"That perhaps the former Instrument of Government having originated in the way it did, the Parliament considered "it would be no worse for sanctioning by the Supreme Authority; such was their reason for taking it up. 'Their intentions I suppose were' this and that, at some length. As "for the new Title, that of *Protector* was not known to the "Law; that of *King* is, and has been for many hundreds of "years. If we keep the title of Protector, as I heard some "argue, our Instrument has only its own footing to rest upon; "but with that of *King*, 'it will ground itself in all the ancient "foundations of the Laws of England,'" &c. &c.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, — old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair,—him also the reader shall conceive speaking for the space of half an hour:

"'May it please your Highness,' Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! "'Upon due consideration, you shall find that the whole body "of the Law is carried upon this wheel' of the Chief Magis- "trate being called King. Hum—m—m! [*Monotonous humming for ten minutes.*] 'The title of Protector is not *limited* "by any rule of Law that I understand;' the title of King is. "Hum—m—m! King James wanted to change his Title, and "that only from *King of England* to *King of Great Britain;* "and the Parliament could not consent, so jealous were they "of new titles bringing new unknown powers. Much de- "pends upon a title! The Long Parliament once thought "of changing its title to *Representative of the People;* but durst "not. Hum — m — m! '*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*' "Drum—m—m! '*Vox populi:* it is the voice of the Three Na- "tions that offers your Highness this Title.' Drum—m—m!" ——Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us.[28] At the ending of it, a pause.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you if you have a mind to speak farther of this. But if such had been your pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me into a way of more preparedness, according to the method

[28] *Somers*, vi. 356-7.

and way I had conceived for myself, to return some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble—Surely the business requires, from any man in the world in any case, and much more from me, that there be given to it serious and true answers! I mean such answers as are not feigned in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart. [*Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness;—but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call and even* THINK *themselves "true" are but "feigned in one's own thoughts," after all; from that to "the truth and honesty of heart" is still a great way;—witness many men in most times; witness almost all men in such times as ours.*] That is what I mean by true answers.

I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it might be your pleasure to speak on this head, I should then, having taken some short note of it as I do [*Glancing at his Note-paper*], have been in a condition, this afternoon [*Would still fain be off!*]—if it had not been a trouble to you,—to return my answer, upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed that way,—truly I think I may very well say, I shall need to have a little thought about the thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debate should end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; as it is very like to do. [*A Drama* COMPOSING *itself as it gets* ACTED, *this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.*]

I say therefore, if you had found good to proceed farther in speaking of these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and have made some short reply. And this would have ushered me in not only to give the best answer I could, but to make my own objections 'too.' [*An interrogative look; evidently some of us must speak! Glynn steps forward.*]

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN steps forward, speaks largely; then SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY steps forward; and NATHANIEL FIENNES steps forward; and LORD BROGHIL (Earl of Orrery that is to be) steps forward; and all speak largely: whom, not to treat with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall abridge down to *absolute* nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us. In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil in the rear of all:[29]

LORD BROGHIL. "By an Act already existing (the 11th of "Henry VII.), all persons that obey a 'King *de facto*' are to "be held guiltless; not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*. "Think of this.—And then 'in the 7th and last place,' I ob- "serve: The Imperial Crown of this country and the Pretended "King are indeed divorced; nevertheless persons divorced may "come together again; but if the person divorced be married "to another, there is no chance left of that!"——

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things[30] that come from the Parliament to the Supreme Magistrate [*He accepts, then?*], if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known by that name, and is the Representative of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland is. I say, this ought to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will have with me.

In all things a man is free to grant desires coming from Parliament. I may say, inasmuch as the Parliament hath condescended so far as to do me this honour (a very great one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel from so many members of theirs, so able, so intelligent of

[29] *Somers*, p. 363. [30] Means 'anything,—the Kingship for one thing!'

the grounds of things—[*Sentence breaks down*]—This is, I say, a very singular honour and favour to me; and I wish I may do, and I hope I shall do, what becomes an honest man in giving an answer to these things,—according to such insight[31] either as I have, or as God shall give me, or as I may be helped into by reasoning with you. But indeed I did not in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave you. [*Well!*] For I must say, I should be a person very unworthy of such favour if I should prevaricate in saying things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still say they do! Only, I must 'also' say, I am in the best way I could be 'in' for information; and I shall gladly receive it.

Here have been divers things spoken by you today, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. I think the arguments and reasonings that have been used were upon these three heads:[32] *First*, Speaking to the thing simply, to the abstract notion of the Title, and to the positive reasons upon which it stands. Then '*secondly*, Speaking' comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order to show the goodness of it comparatively, 'in comparison with our present title and foundation.' It is alleged to be so much better than what we now have; and that *it* will do the work which this other fails in. And *thirdly*, Some things have been said by way of precaution; which are not arguments from the thing itself, but are considerations drawn from the temper of the English People, what will gratify them, 'and so on;'—which is surely considerable. As also 'some things were said' by way of anticipation of me in my answer; speaking to some objections which others have made against this proposal. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable. [*The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay*

[31] 'desire' in orig.: but there is no sense in that. [32] 'accounts' in orig.

*it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head,—as is sometimes the way with him.*]

To answer objections, I know, is a very weighty business; and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men who know somewhat how to answer them,—'to whom they are not strange,' having already in part been suggested to them by the Debates already had.

But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could taken those things [*Looking at his Notes*] that have been spoken,—which truly are to be acknowledged as very learnedly spoken,—I hope you will give me a little time to consider of them. As to when it may be the best time for me to return hither and meet you again, I shall leave that to your consideration.

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. On Monday at nine of the clock I will be ready to wait upon you.*

And so, with many bows, *exeunt.*—Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11th April 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them;—the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrode says: 'The Protector often 'advised about this' of the Kingship 'and other great busi-'nesses with the Lord Broghil, Pierpoint' (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with 'Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe; 'and would be shut up three or four hours together in private 'discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him. He 'would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and laying 'aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar; and

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351-365.

'by way of diversion would make verses with them,' play at crambo with them, 'and every one must try his fancy. He 'commonly called for tobacco, pipes and a candle, and would 'now and then take tobacco himself;' which was a very high attempt. 'Then he would fall again to his serious and great 'business' of the Kingship; 'and advise with them in those 'affairs. And this he did often with them; and their counsel 'was accepted, and' in part 'followed by him in most of his 'greatest affairs,'—as well as it deserved to be.[33]

[33] Whitlocke, p. 647.

END OF VOL. IV.

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